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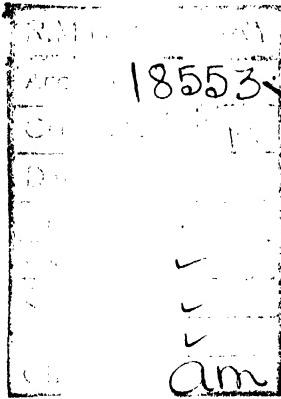
CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE
GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY
OF
BENGAL.

(Muhammadan Period, A. D. 1203 to 1538).

BY
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CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

(With six plates and two woodcuts.)

CALCUTTA :
PRINTED BY G. H. ROUSE, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
1873.



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ERRATA.

- Page 14, line 10, *for river read* G'hágrá river.
,, 27, line 1, *for to read* and to.
,, " line 25, *for downfall read downfal.*
,, 28, second note, *for Koch read of Koch.*

In the end of last year, General Cunningham, Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, forwarded to the Asiatic Society, for publication in the Journal, a unique collection of rubbings of Muhammadan inscriptions from Bengal and various places up-country, and in the Proceedings of our Society for January last, I gave an account of the importance of these rubbings with reference to the history of Bengal. Dr. J. Wise of Dacca, Mr. Walter Bourke, Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and Mr. W. L. Heeley, C. S., have also favoured the Society with valuable rubbings and notes on the localities where they were obtained, and I shall delay no longer to carry out the wishes of the donors and publish my readings with a few notes suggested by the subject. I have also examined our coin cabinet, which I found to contain some unpublished Bengal coins of great value.

The importance of mural and medallie evidence for Bengal History arises from the paucity and meagreness of written sources. Whilst for the history of the Diblí Empire we possess general and special histories, often the work of contemporaneous writers, we have only secondary sources and incidental remarks for the early Muhammadan period of Bengal, *i. e.*, from A. D. 1203 to 1338. Nizámuddín Ahmad, who served Akbar as Bakhshí, the friend and protector of the historian Badáoni, is the first writer that gives in his *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, which were completed in 1590, a short connected account of the independent kings of Bengal from 1338 to 1538. For the time between 1203 and 1338, we depend on incidental remarks made by Diblí writers, as Minháj i Siráj, Baramí, and 'Afíf. Firishtah, who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century, has a chapter on the same period as Nizám; but though he gives a little more, it seems that he used the same, at present unknown, source as the author of the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*. But there can be no doubt that this source was a work defective in chronology and meagre in details. Firishtah also cites a historical compilation by one Híjí Muhammad of Qandahár, of which no copy is at present known to exist.

The latest writer on Bengal History is Ghulam Husain of Zaidpúr, poetically styled 'Salím,' who composed his *Rigázussalífín*, or 'the Gardens of Kings,' at the request of Mr. George Udney of Málđah. This work, the

title of which contains in the numerical value of the letters the date of its completion (A. H. 1202, or A. D. 1787-88), is rare, but is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time. From a comparison of his work with that by Firishtah, it is evident that for the early portion he has used books which are likewise unknown at present, and it is unfortunate that his preface gives no information on this point.* His additional source, it is true, cannot have been a work of considerable size; yet he gives valuable dates which, as will be seen below, are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salím has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District. Stewart, who used the Riyáz as the basis of his History of Bengal, has given a translation of the greater part of the work; but from a leaning to Firishtah he has left out useful passages, which will be found below.

A commentary on Inscriptions necessarily contains references to the history and the geography of the country; but in order not to overload the subject with unconnected remarks, I have, in the following, separated the geographical from the historical portion, and have thus found means to collect, in a convenient way, numerous stray notes which for several years have been accumulating in the course of my historical studies.

6.

* When quoting this unknown source, Salím uses phrases as 'dar risálah e dálah-am,' 'I have seen in some pamphlet,' or 'ba-qaulé,' 'according to another statement,' &c.

The Asiatic Society Library has one MS. of the Riyázussalátín (No. 526), written in bold *shikastah*, 277 pages, 8vo., 15 lines per page, copied in 1851 at Hajipúr by one Sadruddin Ahmad. Beginning—*Jahán jahán hamul sazawár i bárydh i jahán-dsáriño ast, kih ín mazáhir i kaunt-rá ba-yal i qubrat i kámílah i khwásh ba-hilyah i wujíd muholla sákhthá*, &c. The work consists of a Preface in four parts, and four Chapters, of which the last contains two parts. The end contains the following description of the character of the "new rulers"—

"The English among the Christians are adorned with the head-dress of wisdom and skill, and ornamented with the garb of generosity and good manners. In resolution, activity in war, and in festivities, in administering justice and helping the oppressed, they are unrivalled; and their truthfulness is so great, that they would not break a promise, should they even lose their lives. They admit no liar to their society, are pious, faithful, pitiful, and honorable. They have neither learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the page of vice; and though their religion is opposed to ours, they do not interfere with the religion, rites, and propagation of the Muhammadan faith.

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر بیکجا میکشد خواب یک خواب است باشد مختلف تعییرها

All wrangling about faith and heresy leads to the same place: the dream is one and the same dream, though the interpretations may differ."

PART I.—GEOGRAPHICAL.

Before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans under Bakhtyár Khiljí in A. D. 1203, Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts—(1) Ráḍha, the country west of the Húglí and south of the Ganges ; (2) Bagdi, the delta of the Ganges ; (3) Banga, the country to the east of, and beyond, the delta ; (4) Barendra, the country to the north of the Padma (Podda) and between the Karatayá and the Mahánandá rivers ; and (5) Mithilá, the country west of the Mahánandá. We do not know whether these names refer to revenue districts, or merely indicate (as they now do) popular divisions based upon the course of principal rivers ; but as the different orders of Bráhmans and Káyasthas take their distinctive names from these divisions, it may be assumed that they existed or were recognized at the time of Ballála Sen, who classified the two castes.

The ease with which Bakhtyár Khiljí took possession of Bengal by his surprise of Nadiyá,* the then capital, stands unparalleled in history, unless we compare it with the almost peaceful transfer of the same country, five hundred and fifty-five years later, from the Muhammadans to the East India Company. But it would be wrong to believe that Bakhtyár Khiljí conquered the whole of Bengal : he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithilá, Barendra, the northern portions of Ráḍha, and the north-western tracts of Bagdi. This conquered territory received from its capital the name of Lak'hnautí, and its extent is described by the author of the *Tabaqát i Náqirí*, who says that the country of Lak'hnautí lies to both sides of the Ganges and consists of two wings : the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Deokot belongs ; and the western has the name of Rál [*i. e.*, Ráḍha], to which Lak'hnúr belongs. Hence the same writer also distinguishes† Lak'hnautí-Deokot from Lak'hnautí-Lak'hnúr. From the town of Lak'hnautí to Deokot on the one side, and from Lak'hnautí to the door of Lak'hnúr, on the other side, an embanked road (*pul*) passes, ten days' march. Distinct from the country of Lak'hnautí is Banga (*diyár i Bang*, Bangadesh, *Tabaqát*, p. 267), and in this part of Bengal the descendants of the Lak'hnaniyah kings of Nadiyá still reigned in A. H. 658, or 1260, A. D., when Minháj i Siráj, the author of the *Tabaqát*, wrote his history.‡ Deokot, which still gives name to a large parganah, was correctly identified by Buchanan with the old fort near Damdamá, on the left bank of the Púrná-

* Lak'hnau Sen, the last king of Bengal, though called king, cannot have been much more than the principal zamíndár of his time. “He was a liberal man,” says the author of the *Tabaqát*, “and never gave less than a lak'h of cowries, when he made a present—may God lessen his punishment in hell !”

† *Tabaqát*, pp. 162, 242.

‡ *Tabaqát Náqirí*, p. 151. Thus an expedition against Banga by the governor of Lak'hnautí is mentioned in 657. *Tabaqát Náqirí*, p. 267.

bhaba, south of Dínájpúr. Close to it lies Gangarámpúr with its ruins, and the oldest Muhammadan inscription known in Bengal.* Lak'hnúr,† the town or ‘thanah’ of the other “wing,” has not yet been identified. The name occurs in no Muhammadan history after the time of the Tabaqát i Náçírí, and the only hint given is, that it lay west of the Húglí, on the road, at about the same distance from Lak'hnautí city as Deokot lay from the capital—which would be the northern portion of District Bırbhüm.

Minháj's remark that Banga was, in 1260, still in the hands of Lak'hman Sen's descendants, is confirmed by the fact that Sunnárgáon is not mentioned in the Tabaqát; nor does it occur on the coins of the first century of Muhammadan rule. It is first mentioned in the *Táríkh i Baraní* as the residence, during Balban's reign, of an independent Rái; but under Tughluq Sháh (A. D. 1323), Sunnárgáon and Sátgáon, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muhammadan governors, the term ‘Bangálah’ being now applied to the united provinces of Lak'hnautí, Sátgáon, and Sunnárgáon.‡

The *Táríkh i Baraní*, the *Táríkh i Fíruzsháhí* by 'Asíf, and the Travels of Ibn Batúṭah yield but little additional information. Fíruzábád, or Panḍuah (north of Mál dahá, or Mál dah) which General Cunningham significantly calls ‘Hazrat Panḍuah,’ or ‘Panḍuah, the Residence,’ appears as the new capital, and in connexion with it Fort Ekdálah, said to be ‘near Panḍuah.’ The actual site of this fort is still a matter of doubt; even the

* Of Kai Káús Sháh, A. D. 1297. Journal, A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I., p. 102.

† Major Raverty, of whose translation of the Tabaqát two fasciculi have just appeared, informs me that all his best MSS. have لکھنور, Lak'hnúr. The Bibliotheca Indica edition has لکور, and often also لکور ; and it was, no doubt, the last spelling that led Stewart to substitute Nágor (in western Bırbhüm), which certainly lies in the direction indicated. Outside of the Marátha wall of Nágor, we have a Lak'hí-púr and a Lak'hnáráyanpúr.

‡ Baraní, p. 452. He spells Satgáon, not Sátgáon. It is almost useless to remark on the geography of Bengal as given in the Tabaqát before the appearance of Major Raverty's translation, who has collated nearly all existing MSS. of the work. The Bibliotheca Indica edition is untrustworthy. Taking it, however, as it is, we find the following places mentioned—Núdiyah, in this spelling, for Nadiyá; Lak'hnautí; دیار کونی, نارکوئی (?), pp. 156 to 158; بارندرا, Lak'hnúr; Deokot; Nárkotí (?); دیار سکنات, Kámrúd (always with this spelling) for Kámrúp; دیار سکنات, Jagannáth (Púrí) ?; and a few places in Asám or Tibbat; امردن ?, p. 263; and Jénuagar, regarding which vide below.

The *Táríkh i Firishtah* furnishes the isolated fact of the foundation of Rangpúr by Bakhtyár Khiljí on the frontier of Bengal (Lucknow Edition, p. 293).

author of the Riyázussalátín, who lived in the neighbourhood of Málđah and Panđuah, says nothing about it.*

About 850 A. H. (A. D. 1446), during the reign of Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh, the capital was transferred to Gaur. Thus Lak'hnautí is henceforth again called in history. The transfer, though it may have been connected with the restoration of an old dynasty, was unfortunate. Gaur lies in the middle between the Ganges and the Mahánandá, thus occupying, as is the case in all Deltaic lands, the lowest site; and east of it lies the Kallak Sajá marsh, called in the Áín *Chuttiá-pattiá*, into which the drainage of the town opened. Every increase in the waters of the Ganges caused the marsh, which is connected with it, to rise, and "if [earthen] embankment broke, the town was under water,"† and the drainage was driven back into the town. Hence the removal of the capital, a short time afterwards, to Táñđah,‡ and the ultimate desertion of the town as a fever centre for Ráj-mahall.

The meagre information supplied by the Tabaqát i Nizámí and Firish-tah throws no further light on the geography of Bengal, but leaves the impression that during the reigns of the independent kings (A. H. 739 to 944, or A. D., 1338 to 1538) the extent of Muhammadan Bengal was the same as what we find it in A. D. 1582, the year in which Todar Mall prepared his rent-roll of Bengal, a copy of which Abul Fazl has given in the Áín.

The coins and inscriptions of the above period yield a few particulars. We have the seven Bengal mint towns given by Thomas,§ to which I can

* Mr. Thomas compares with Ekdálah the name of 'Jugdula,' a village east of Hazrat Panđuah, towards the Púrnábhaba. The Indian Atlas Sheet No. 119 also mentions a village Jugdal due north of Málđahá, near the Mahánandá, in Lat. $25^{\circ} 17' 30''$, and a 'Jugdul' and a 'Jugdal' will be found south-east of Gaur, Long. $88^{\circ} 28'$, Lat. $21^{\circ} 42'$. Even in other parts the name is common; for Jagdal is the Bangálí 'Jogoddul,' 'a leaf of the world,' the world being the lotus, and each town a petal of it. Another Ekdálah will be found on the same sheet, south-east of Bogra (Bagurá), Long. $89^{\circ} 40' 30''$, Lat. $21^{\circ} 35' 15''$, and a third is in Rájsháhí, a little south-west of Nátor. The name seems to be the Bangálí কঁড়া, 'having one wing,' and Dodalá 'having two wings,' occurs likewise as a name of villages.

† Áín i Akbarí.

‡ Rennell marks 'Tarah' near the Paglá River (a branch of the Ganges and perhaps the old bed of the river), south-west of the fort of Gaur. "Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the bankes in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way the river Ganges was wont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farré from the water." Ralph Fitch.

The losses of Akbar's Bengal army in Gaur will be found in my Áín translation, p. 376.

§ Lak'hnautí, Firuzábád (Panđuah), Sálgáoñ, Shahr i Nau (?), Ghiyás-púr, Sunnárgáoñ, and Mu'azzamábád. Chronicles, p. 151.

now add three more, *viz.* Fathábád, Khalífatábád, and Husainábád, which will be discussed below. The inscriptions reveal the important fact, that Bengal was divided into revenue divisions called Mahalls, over which, as in the Dihli empire, Shiqdárs* were placed, and into larger circles under 'Sarlashkars,' or military commanders, who have often also the title of Vazír (Díwán). Of places mentioned on inscriptions I may cite—Iqlím Mu'azzamábád (Eastern Maimansingh); Thánah Láúr (north-western Silhaṭ,—both occur also united under the same Sarlashkar); Sarhat, in western Bírbhúm, now in the Santal Parganahs; Láopallah, east of the Island in the Húglí opposite Tribení Ghát, evidently in olden times an important place as lying at the point where the Jabuná leaves the Húglí and commences her tortuous course, first easterly, then southerly, into the Sundarban ;† and also several places which have not yet been identified, as Simlábád, Háiḍígarh, and Sájlá-Mankhbád.‡

From the middle of the 16th century we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical 'Da Asia' by Joáo de Barros (died 1570); and the graphic descriptions of Cæsar Frederick (1570) and Ralph Fitch (1583 to 1591). Nor must I forget the Persian traveller Amín Rází, an uncle of Núr Jahán, who composed his 'Haft Iqlím' in A. H. 1002 (A. D. 1594); but it is doubtful whether he visited Bengal, or merely wrote down what he heard at Ágrah. I shall occasionally refer to the works of these travellers below.§

But by far the most interesting contribution to the geography of Bengal, in spite of the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., is Todar Mall's rent-roll. Though of 1582, it may be assumed that Todar Mall merely gave in it what he found to exist with regard to both divisions and revenue; for Bengal was only subjugated during Jahángir's reign, and properly assessed

* How extensively the Hindús were employed as revenue officers may be seen from the fact that the Arabic-Persian *Shiqdár* and *Mujmu'ahdár* have become Bangálí family names, generally spelt 'Sikdar' and 'Mozoomdar.'

† The island opposite Tribení has a conspicuous place on De Barros' Map of Bengal and on that by Blaeu (*vide* Pl. IV.). The maps also agree with Abul Fazl's statement in the Áin, that at Tribení there are three branches, one the Saraswatí, on which Sátgáon lies; the other, the Ganga, now called the Húglí; and the third, the Jon or Jabuná (Jamuná). De Barros and Blaeu's Maps shew the three branches of almost equal thickness, the Saraswatí passing Satigum (Sátgáon), and Chouma (Chaumuhá in Húglí District, north), and the Jabuná flowing westwards to Buram (Boṛhan, in the 24-Parganahs).

‡ Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 284.

§ I have not mentioned Nicoldo de Conti's Travels (1419 to 1444, A. D.), because he only mentions one town in Bengal, *Cernuve* on the Ganges, which Col. Yule has identified with the 'Shahr i Nau,' or 'New Town' on Sikandar Sháh's coin of 1379 (Thomas, In. Coinage of Bengal, Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1867, p. 65); but the position of this town is still a matter of doubt.

by Prince Shujá' a short time before 1658. In the Aín we find that Bengal proper was divided into 19 Sirkárs, and 682 Mahalls. Eight of the 19 Sirkárs, and 204 of the 682 Mahalls, have Muhammadan names. The rent-roll included both the *khálíčah* ('genuine,' *vulgo khalsa*) or crownlands, and the *aqtá* or *jágír* lands, *i. e.* lands assigned to officers in lieu of pay or maintenance of troops. The distribution of the Sirkárs depended, as in the old Hindú division, on the courses of the Ganges, Bhagirathí, and Megna, or, as the Aín expresses it, on the courses of the Padmávatí, Ganga, and Brahmaputra, as will be seen from the following list of the Sirkárs.

A. Sirkárs North and East of the Ganges.

1. Sirkár Lakhnautí, or Jannatábád, extending from Taliágarhí (K'halgáon, Colgong) along the northern banks of the Ganges, and including a few mahalls now belonging to district Bhágalpúr and Púrniah, and nearly the whole of Máldah district. Besides Gaur, this Sirkár contained the ancient town of Rángámáti.* 66 mahalls; khalsa revenue, Rs. 471,174.†

2. Sirkár Púrniah, or Púranniah, the greater and chiefly westerly portion of the present district of Púrniah, as far as the Mahánanda.‡ 9 maballs; revenue Rs. 160,219.

3. Sirkár Tájpúr, extending over Eastern Púrniah east of the Mahánandá, and Western Dínájpúr. 29 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 162,096.

4. Sirkár Panjrah, so called from the Hawelí mahall Panjrah, north-east of the town of Dínájpúr, on the Atrai River, comprising the greater part of Dínájpúr district. 21 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 145,081.

5. Sirkár Ghorág'hát, so called from the town of Ghorág'hát or Chauk'handí on the right bank of the Karatayá, comprising portions of Dínájpúr, Rangpúr, and Bagurá (Bograh) districts, as far as the Brahmaputra. Being a frontier district towards Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, it contained numerous jágír lands of Afghán chiefs and their descendants. The Sirkár produced a great deal of raw silk. 88 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 202,077.§

6. Sirkár Bárbakábád, so called from Bárbak Sháh, king of Bengal (*vide* below), and extending from Sirkár Lakhnautí along the Podda to Bagurá. It comprises portions of Máldah and Dínájpúr, and a large part of Rájshálí, and Bagurá. Its cloths were well known, especially the stuffs

* Máldah is once mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángír* (p. 178)—“ When I [Jahángír] was prince, I had made a promise to Mír Ziyáuddín of Qazwín, a Saífi Sayyid, who has since received the title of Muqtasá Khán, to give him and his children Parganah Máldah, a well known Parganah in Bengal. This promise was now performed (A. D. 1617).

† Akbarshálí Rupees (1 Rupee = 40 dáms). Grant substitutes ‘Sicca Rupees,’ at 2s. 3d.

‡ It seems as if the Mahánandá, in its upper course, is often called Mahánadí. Van den Broucke calls it on his map ‘ Martnade.’

§ Some MSS. have 209,577 Rs.

called *kháçah* (the “*koses*” of old writers) as the *kháçah* of Shahbázpúr, the *çahan* (چان, the ‘*sanes*’ or ‘*sahnes*’ of Dutch writers), and the *múminí*. 38 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 436,288.

7. *Sirkár Bázúhá*, extending from the preceding across the Brahmaputra into Silhat, comprising portions of Rájsháhí, Bagurá, Pabná, Maiman Singh, and reaching in the south a little beyond the town of Dháká (Dæcca).* The name ‘Bázúhá’ is the plural of the Persian word *bázú*, ‘an arm, a wing;’ and all mahalls in this Sirkár have the word *bázú* after their name, which on our survey maps appears under the Bangálí form ‘Bajoo.’† 32 mahalls; revenue, the largest of all Sirkárs, Rs. 987,921. To this Sirkár belonged Dháká, and Sherpúr Murcha, or Mihmánsháhí, south of Bagurá on the Karataya, which is several times mentioned in the Akbarnámah as a military station.

8. *Sirkár Silhat*, adjacent to the preceding, chiefly east of the Surmá River. As will be seen below, the country was only conquered by the Muhammadans in the end of the 14th century, and was exposed to continual invasions from Tiparah and Asám. According to Marco Polo, the Aín, and the Tuzuk, Silhat supplied India with eunuchs. Jahángír issued an edict forbidding the people of Silhat to castrate boys. Like Kámrup, Silhat is also often mentioned as the land of wizards and witches, and the fame of its *jádú*, or witchcraft, is still remembered at the present day. 8 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 167,032.

9. *Sirkár Sunnárgáon*, to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, containing portions of western Tiparah, Bhaúá, and Noák’háli, subject to repeated attacks by the Rajahs of Tiparah and Arakan. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 258,283. The *Hajt Iqlím* gives Rs. 330,000.

* Stewart says that Dháká is a modern town, “because the name does not occur in the Aín.” But it does; *vide* my text edition, p. 407, where the Mahall to which it belongs, is called Dhakká Bázú. In Gladwin’s spelling ‘Dukha Bazoo’ it is, however, scarcely recognizable. Dháká occurs in the Akbarnámah as an Imperial thánah in 1584; and Sir A. Phayre (*vide* above, p. 53) mentions it in 1400.

† Thus the country west of Pabna is called ‘Bajooras’ and east of it ‘Bajoochup’—corruptions of *Bázú i rást*, ‘the right wing,’ and *Bázú i chap* ‘the left wing.’ Other corruptions are—Esub, or Eshub, or Esop, or Isaf, for *i Yúsuf*; thus ‘Esubshye,’ for ‘Yúsuf-sháhí;’ Nasipore, for Nasíbhpúr, (from Naqib Sháh); Nujeepore, for Najibpúr; Haleeshur (opposite Tribeni) for Hálíshahr, = Haweli i Shahr [Sátgáon]; Mahomedshye for Mahmúdsháhí, (Jessore); Bajitpore, for Báyazídpúr (in Dínájpúr); Juffurshye, for Zafursháhí, (not Ja’farsháhí); Kali Modunpúr (which sounds like a Hindú name); Kalím-uddinpúr; Puladassy, north of Bagurá, for Fúládsháhí; Masidpore and Majidpore, for Masjidpúr (*vide* Beames, Comp. Grammar, p. 209).

In the spelling of Bengal names care should be taken with the frequent ending *daha*, ‘eddy,’ as Málđahá, spelt in Persian Málđah; but the final *h* is radical, and the name should not be spelt Málđá, as Málwah, Rájäh, &c., = Málwá, Rájá, &c.

Aurangzéb forbade by edict spellings like Málwah, Rájäh, &c.; he wanted people to spell Málwá, Rájá.

10. Sirkár Chátgáon (Chittagong), never properly annexed before the reign of Aurangzib. 7 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 285,607.

B. Sirkárs in the Delta of the Ganges.

11. Sirkár Sátgáon. A small portion only, the land between the Húglí and the Sarasvatí, lay west of the Húglí, whilst the bulk of the Sirkár comprised the modern district of the 24-Parganahs to the Kabadak, western Nadiyá, south-western Murshidábád, and extended in the south to Hatiágáñ below Diamond Harbour. To this Sirkár belonged Mahall Kalkattá (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauza's, paid, in 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. 53 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 418,118.

12. Sirkár Mahmúdábád, so called after one of the three Mahmúd Sháhs of Bengal, and comprising northern Nadiyá, northern Jessore, and western Farídpúr. 88 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 290,256.

13. Sirkár Khalífatábád, or southern Jessore and western Báqirganj. The Sirkár is called after Khalifatábád, which was the name of the small Hawelí-parganah near Bágherháṭ (*vide* below). The largest mahall of this Sirkár was Jesar (Jessore), or Rasúlpúr ; and among others, we find here the Mahalls Múnđagáchha and Malíkpúr, which the Khán i A'zam, when governor of Bengal under Akbar (Aín translation, p. 326), is said to have given to Bhabeshwar Rái, the ancestor of the present Rájahs of Jesar. The name of Jesar, therefore, occurs as early in 1582 ; hence Van den Broucke's map (1660) also gives it conspicuously as 'Jessore.'* 35 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 135,053.

14. Sirkár Fathábád, so called after Fath Sháh, king of Bengal, comprising a small portion of Jessore, the whole of Farídpúr, southern Báqirganj, portions of Dháká district, and the Islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr, Sondíp, and Sidhú, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Farídpúr lies in the Hawelí Parganah of Fathábád. 3 mahalls, revenue, Rs. 199,239.

15. Sirkár Baklá,† or Ismá'ílpúr, north-east of the preceding, comprising portions of Báqirganj and Dháká districts. It is the *Bacala* of old maps. 4 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 178,756.

C. Sirkárs South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathí (Húglí).

16. Sirkár Audambar, or Táñdah, comprising the greater portion of Murshidábád district, with portions of Bírbhúm. The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, e. g. in Kachh.‡ Táñdah did not long enjoy the position of capital : Sher Sháh already had made plans to remove it

* *Vide*, however, Westland, Jessore Report, p. 29.

† The author of the *Siyarul Mutakkhírát* calls it Hoglá (هوجلہ), from the Bangálí word *hoglá*, which signifies marsh reed—a name which no doubt explains the name of Húglí ; but he strangely confounds Sirkár Baklá with Sirkár Sátgáon (Húglí).

‡ *Vide* Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, I, p. 248.

to Ag Mahall on the opposite bank. But this was only carried out by Rájah Mán Singh, who changed the name of Ag Mahall to Ráj Mahall, and subsequently to Akbarnagar. The same Sirkár became again in later times under Prince Shujá' the seat of government, and later still under Nawáb Ja'far Murshid Qulí Khán, who changed the name of the old town of Makhcúqábád,* the *Muxabad* or *Muxadabad* of old maps, to Murshidábád. 52 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 601,985. The Haft Iqlím gives its revenue at Rs. 597,570.

17. Sirkár Sharífábád, south of the preceding, comprising the remaining portions of Bírbhúm, and a large portion of Bardwán district, together with the town of Bardwán† itself. Mahalls Bárbaik Singh and Fath Singh, so called after the Bengal kings Bárbaik Sháh and Fath Sháh, and Sherpúr 'Atái, where Mán Singh defeated the Afgháns (Aín translation, p. 341) also belonged to this Sirkár. 26 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 562,218.

18. Sirkár Sulaimánábád, a straggling Sirkár, which comprised a few southern parganahs in the modern districts of Nadiyá, Bardwán, and the whole north of Húglí district. This Sirkár was so called after Sulaimán Sháh of Bengal, who also called several parganahs after himself in Murshidábád, Jessoré, and Bágirganj districts ; but whether the name was too long, or was purposely changed after Akbar's conquest of Bengal in honor of Prince Salím (Jahángir), it only occurs now-a-days in the form 'Salimábád.' The chief town of the Sirkár was Salimábád [Sulaimánábád], on the left bank of the Damúdar, south-east of the town of Bardwán. It is marked as 'Silimath' on Van den Broucke's map. Olá (the old name of Bírnagar) in Nadiyá, known from the Srímanta legend, and Panquah, on the E. I. Railway, with its Buddhist ruins and ancient mosques, also belong to this Sirkár. 31 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 440,749.

19. Sirkár Mādáran, extending in a semicircle from Nágör in Western Bírbhúm over Rániganj along the Damúdar to above Bardwán, and from there over K'hánd Ghosh, Jahánábád, Chandrakoná (Western Húglí District) to Mandalg'hát, at the mouth of the Rúpnáráyan River. 16 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 235,085.

Thus the above nineteen Sirkárs, which made up Bengal in 1582, paid a revenue on khalsa lands, inclusive of a few duties on salt, húts, and

* The Akbarnámah mentions a Makhcú Khán, brother of Shá'íd Khán ; *vide* my Aín translation, p. 388. Makhcú Khán served in Bengal and Bihár, and his brother Shá'íd Khán was for some time governor of Bengal.

† The Muhammadan pronunciation of the Bangálí Bordomán. The Haft Iqlím mentions an extraordinary custom that obtained in this Sirkár. "Feminae hujus provinciae instrumentum quoddam fictilio penis instar in vulvam et in anum inferunt, ut sordes removeant. The old kings have in vain tried to break them off this habit."

Regarding the Muhammadan antiquities of Bardwán, *vide* Journal, As. Bengal, for 1871, Pt. I, p. 254.

fisheries, of 253,482,106 dáms, or Rs. 6,337,052.* According to Grant, the value of the jágír lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,892, so that we have, in 1582, A. D., as total revenue of Bengal, in its then circumscribed limits, the sum of Rs. 10,685,944. This was levied from the ryots in specie† as the equivalent of the *rub'*, or fourth share, of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as despotic proprietary lord of the soil.

This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahángír. The remittances from Bengal to Dihlí were, it is true, not very regular, nor up to the sums levied, so much so that Jahángír appointed, in the end of his reign, Fidái Khán, governor of Bengal, merely because he promised to send regularly one million of rupees to court. Under Sháhjahán, the boundaries of Bengal were extended in the South-West, Medinípúr and Híjlí having been attached to Bengal, and in the East and North-East by conquests in Tiparah and Koch Hájó; and when Prince Shujá' was made governor, he made, shortly before 1658, a new rent-roll, which shewed 31 Sirkárs and 1350 Mahalls, and a total of revenue, on khalsa and jágír lands, of Rs. 13,115,907. Shujá's rent-roll remained in force till 1722, an addition having been made after the conquest of Chátgáon. In that year, Nawáb Ja'far Khán (Murshid Qulí Khán) issued his *Kámíl Jama' Túmárí*, or 'Perfect Rent-roll,' in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sirkárs, forming 13 Chaklahs, and sub-divided into 1660 Parganahs, with a revenue of Rs. 14,288,186.

It was, however, only after the rule of Nawáb Ja'far Khán that the *Abwáb* revenue‡ gradually appeared in the books. Though vast sums had been levied on this head, they had been looked upon as private emoluments of office. As early as in the tenure of Shujá' Khán, Nawáb Ja'far's successor, we find the Abwábs entered as yielding Rs. 2,172,952, and they rapidly increased under 'Alí Virdi Khán and Qásim Khán, so that, when the E. I. Company in 1765 acquired the Diwáni, the *net* amount of all revenue collected by authority in Bengal was Rs. 25,624,223.

It is not my intention to enter here further in the historical portion of the revenue question of Bengal, nor shall I minutely describe the Sirkárs and the Mahalls or detail the historical and geographical

* Grant's total is Rs. 6,344,260, or Rs. 7,208 more, chiefly on account of the higher sum given by him for Sirkár G'horág'háṭ. Vth Report, p. 258.

† "The ryots (*ra'iyat*) of Bengal are obedient and ready to pay taxes. During eight months of the year they pay the required sums by instalments. They personally bring the money in rupees and goldmuhurs to the appointed place. Payment in kind is not usual. Grain is always cheap. The people do not object to a survey of the lands, and the amount of the land tax is settled by the collector and the ryot (*nasuq*). His Majesty, from kindness, has not altered this system." *Aín i Akbari*.

‡ Imposts as fees on the renewal of annual leases of zamíndárs (*kháqnawísí*); *nazránahs*; fees for remission of imperial revenue; *zar i mahaut*, or imposts levied for the maintenance of the Nawab's elephants; and many more.

changes that took place ; these I must necessarily reserve for the second volume of my *Aín* translation. But I shall now attempt to trace the frontiers of Bengal under the Muhammadan rule as far as existing historical sources allow us to do.

The Frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal.

Abulfazl estimates the breadth of Bengal from Gaṛhí to Chátgáon at four hundred *kos*. From north to south, the longest line was from Koch Bihár to Chittúa in Sirkár Medinípúr. "The zamíndárs are mostly Káyasths." Not a word is said on the strength of the Muhammadan population, or the progress of Islám—comparative statistics were not thought of in his age. The remark made by old English travellers that the inhabitants of the islands and the coast of south-eastern Bengal were chiefly Muhammadans, and the uncertain legend regarding the introduction, in the beginning of the 16th century, of Islamitic rites into Chátgáon by Nuçrat Sháh are the only allusions that I have seen on the subject. Neither history nor legends allude to the conversions among the semi-aboriginal rural population, that must on a large scale have taken place during the reigns of the independent kings of Bengal, chiefly, no doubt, through the exertions of the numerous Afghán Jagírdárs.

The military and naval power of the country is fixed at 23,330 horse, 4,260 guns, 1,170 elephants, and 4,400 boats. In Nawáb Ja'far's rent-roll, however, the strength of the naval establishment (*nawárá*) consisted of 768 armed cruisers and boats, which were principally stationed at Dháká, to guard the coast against the Mags and foreign pirates ; and the number of sailors included 923 Firingís, chiefly employed as gunners. The annual charges of the navy, including construction and repairs, was fixed at Rs. 843,452, which was levied under the name of '*amalah i nawárá*' from parganahs in South-Eastern Bengal. The same rent-roll mentions that the garrisons along the whole eastern frontier from Chatgáon to Rángámáti on the Brahmaputra consisted of 8,112 men (*ahshám*), who cost 359,180, Rs. per annum.

Of the roads in Bengal we have no information prior to Van den Broucke's map (1660) in Valentyn's work. He marks (1) a principal road passing over Patna, Munger, and Rájmahall to Súti, where the Bhagirathí leaves the Ganges. From here a branch went to Moxudabath (Murshidábád), Plassi (Palásí), and Hagdia,* crossed the Bhagirathí for Gasiapore,

* Hagdia is Agardíp. Van den Broucke's map gives here an interesting particular. He marks Hagdia on the *left* bank of the river, and Gasiapoor (Gházípúr) on the *right* bank. Both places lie now far from the right bank, with only a small khal between them, and a large semi-circular lake round both. The lake, as else-

and passed on to Bardwán, Medinípúr, Bhadrak (wrongly marked on the right bank of the Baitaraní), and Kaṭak. The other branch went from Sútí along the right bank of the Podda to Fathábád, from where it passed on to Dháká. These two branches are marked as principal roads (*sháhi rustah*). (2) A road from Bardwán to Baccaresoor (Baklesár in Bírbhún, famous for its hot springs, within the Marátha Intrenchment of Nágór), and from there to Qásimbázár and the banks of the Ganges, and across the river to 'Hasiaarhati.' This is Hajrahattí, on the left bank of the Podda, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Burul River, below Rámpúr Boáliá, and seems to be the Qázihattí (Beng. Kajierhattí), which Abulfazl mentions in the Áín. From Hasiaarhati the road passed to a place called Harwa, and from there to Ceerpoor Mirts, i. e. Sherpúr Murchah, on the Karataya, and passing over Tessiadin (Chandíján, north of Sherpúr,?) to Gorregaut (G'horág'hát) and Bareithela (Baritalá) on the Brahmaputra, which will be mentioned below as a frontier town. (3) A road from Bardwán over Salinábád, Húgli, Jessore, Bosnah, Fathábád, across the river to Sjatterapoer,* Casisella, and Idrákpúr, opposite the confluence of the Lak'hiá and the Daláśarí, near Ballál Sen's palace. (4) A road from Dháká, across the Dalásarí to Piaarpaer and Bedlia, which latter place is marked at the point where the Dalásarí leaves the Jannuná, and from there to Sasiadpoor (Sháhzádpúr, in Pabnah), and Handiaeel (Hariál).*

The Western Frontier.

In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kosí River; but under some of the early Muhammádan governors and the independent kings, the Bengal empire included all upper Bihar north of the Ganges as far as Sáran. Of Ilyás Sháh, for example, it is asserted that he was the founder of Háijpúr, opposite Paṭna, on the Ghandak, although Firuz Sháh, on his return from Bengal, appointed for the first time Imperial collectors in Tírhut. Sikandar Shah's coins, again, have been found far west of the Kúsí.

Southern Bihár only belonged to Bengal from the time of the conquest by Bakhtyár Khiljí to about 730 A. H. (A. D. 1330), when Muhammad Tughluq annexed it to Dihlí. From 800 again (A. D. 1397), the whole of Bihár belonged to the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Under Buhlul again, Daryá Khán Loháni was governor of Bihár; and under Ibráhím, Daryá's son Bahadur Khán assumed independence in Bihár under the title of Sháh Muham-

where in Bengal, is the old bed of the river, which now follows the shorter route along the chord of the loop. This change, therefore, took place after 1660.

Thus also Nadiya lies now on the right bank of the river; but west of the town, there is still the old channel, which goes by the name of Ganga Bhárat.

* Reindl gives Satrapur; but modern maps give no such name.

mad.* It is not clear how far these Afghān chiefs depended on Husain Sháh of Bengal, whom inscriptions represent firmly established in 903 at Munger, while other inscriptions from Bonhárā and Cheran (near Sáran) would lead us to conclude that the whole of Upper Bihár and the western portions of Southern Bihár belonged to him in A. H. 908 and 909 (A. D. 1502, 1503). On the other hand, we hear in history of the cession by Husain Sháh of Bihár, Sáran, and Tírhut, and of the reconquest of these lands by Nuçrat Sháh, who, if he could not hold them, assisted the Afghans against Bábar. Nuçrat Sháh seems even to have passed beyond the Ghāndak; for a mosque near Sikandarpur, on the right bank of the river, in District A'zamgārāh, was built during his reign.

South of the Ganges, the western frontier is better defined. Fort Taliágarh, or Gaṛhí,† near K'halgáon (Colgong) on the Ganges, was looked upon as the entrance, or key, to Bengal—a position which Muhammadan historians compare with that of Fort Salíwán on the Indus, the key of Sindh. From Gaṛhí the frontier passed along the Ganges to the south of Ag-Mahall (Ráj Mahall), when it again turned westward to north-western Bírbhúm, passing along the boundary of the modern Santál Parganahs to the confluence of the Barákar and the Damúdar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damúdar to the neighbourhood of the town of Bardwán. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction, and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Húglí and Habrah (Howrah) Districts down to Mandalg'hát, where the Rúpnárayan flows into the Húglí River.

This boundary, it will be seen, excludes the whole of the Santál Parganahs from the south of K'halgáon to the Barákar, Pachet,‡ and the territory of the Rájahs of Bishmpúr (Bankurá). In vain do we look in Santalia for Muhammadan names of villages and towns; and though there can be no doubt that the Muhammadan kings of Bengal tried to hold parts of the hills by establishing thánahs and appointing jágirholders, no permanent settlements were formed. One of the most westerly thánahs in southern Santalia was Sarhat, N. W. of Shiúri (Soory) in Bírbhúm, which is mentioned in Tribení inscriptions;§ whilst the settlement of Pathán

* Called in many MSS. Mahmúd.

† It is not known which king built the fort; but it may be accidental that the name does not occur in the Tabaqát i Náçiri and in Baraní. At K'halgáon, Mahmúd Sháh III., the last independent king of Bengal, died in 945 (1538 A. D.).

‡ Regarding the invasion of Chutiá Nágpúr by the Muhammadans, *vide J. A. S. B.*, 1871, Part I, p. 111.

§ Sarhat, spelt on inscriptions Sirhat, lies on the left bank of the Ajai River. Its name on modern maps is corrupted to Saruth. Rennell has Sarhaut. Outside the place, the survey maps mark two old forts. A little to the south of it, a village of the name of Lukrakhonda is marked. Rennell on his map of Bírbhúm (*Bengal Atlas*,

jágírdárs, before and after the time of Sher Sháh, as a standing militia against the inroads of the tribes of Jhárk'hand (Chutiá Nágpúr), led to the formation of the great Muhammadan zamindári of Bírbhúm, which gave the E. I. Company some trouble.

In Todar Mall's rent-roll the following Mahalls are mentioned along this portion of the western frontier of Bengal—Ág Mahall (Rájmahall), Kánkjol, Kunwar Partáb, Molesar,* in Sirkár Audambar or Tándah; Bharkúndah, Akbarsháhí, Kaṭangah, in Sharífábád (Bírbhúm); Nágor, Sainbhúm, Shergaṛh (Rániganj), Champánagári (N. W. of the town of Bardwán), Madáran (Jahánábád and Chandrákoná, west of Húglí), Chittuá (District Medinípúr), and Mandalg'hát, at the mouth of the Rúpnáráyán, all belonging to Sirkár Madáran.

The name of the frontier mahall of B h a r k ú n d a h in Bírbhúm, mentioned above, seems to have been formerly extended to the whole of Bírbhúm and the Santál Parganahs. In this extended sense, it is used in the *Tárikh i Dáúdi*,† on De Barros' map of Bengal, and on Blaeu's map of India (*vide* Pl. IV). In the latter, it is only given as 'Barcunda,' but in the former as 'Reino de Barcunda,' extending from Ferrandus (a corruption of Bardwán) to Gorij, in which we recognize Gaṛhí, the 'key of Bengal.' West of Barcunda, De Blaeu and De Barros give 'Patanes,' *i. e.* the Patháns, the military and semi-independent landholders of the western Bengal frontier. On the Ganges, both maps shew Gouro (Gaur), and opposite to it, 'Para', for which De Barros gives 'Rara.'‡ Both spellings may be mistakes for Tara, *i. e.* Tándah, which should of course be on the other side of the river; or 'Rara' stands for the old Hindú division of Rádhá, which there commences. South of 'Ferrandus,' the old maps give 'M a n d a r a m' and 'Cospetir,' which latter name is wrongly placed on Blaeu's map north of Mandaram, whilst De Barros has it correctly west of it. In Mandaram we recognize Madáran, the chief town of Sirkár Madáran, a name which even now-a-days is pronounced by the peasants Mandáran.§ 'Cospetir,' or De

No II.) places a 'Lacaracoond,' in conspicuous letters, south of Nágor; but modern maps give no such locality. Could this be the Lak'hnúr of the Tabraqát?

* *Sábiq* (*i. e.* former) Molesar and Darín Molesar. The former name is wrong spelt in the Indian Atlas (Sheet 113) Sarik Molisser.

† Dowson, Elliot's History of India, IV., pp. 360, 364.

‡ South of Para or Rara, Blaeu and De Barros give a place of the name of Moulnauadangur; and below Gouro, Patana or Patona, and Meneitipur, which I have not identified.

§ I have identified Madáran with Bhítargaṛh in Jahánábád, in the north-western corner of Húglí District. *Vide* Proceedings, As. Socy. Bengal, for April, 1870, where the legends of the place are given.

As the name of Jahánábád occurs in the Akbarnámah, it has no connexion with Shájhahán's name, but refers more likely to one of the numerous Khán Jaháns of the Pathán rule.

Barros' 'Reino Cospetir,' a name that puzzled me long, is clearly 'the kingdom of the Gajpati,' or Lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Orísá, the final *r* being nothing but the ending of the Bangálí genitive. Sirkár Madáran was indeed the frontier of Orísá ; but if the legends of the Húglí District speak of the Gajpatíes having once extended their kingdom to the Ganges (Húglí River), it must have been prior to the time when Sátgáon became the seat of Muhammadan governors.

It is remarkable that among the names of the jungly and hilly frontier districts, we find so many ending in *bhúm*. Thus we have Bírbhúm,* Sainbhúm, along the left bank of the Ajai, in Bírbhúm district ; Sik'harbhúm or Shergarh, the mahall to which Rániganj belongs ; Gopíbhúm, along the right bank of the Ajai ; Bámanbhúm or Bráhmanbhúm, in northern Medinípúr District ; Mánbhúm, Baráhbhúm, Dhalbhúm, Singbhúm, in Chutiá Nágpur ; Túnbhúm, in southern Parúliá ; Malbhúm, the frontier of Bardwán and Medinípúr Districts ; Bhanjibhúm, with the town of Medinípúr,† &c. Similarly, the frontier district between Rangpúr and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahalls Bhitarband and Báhirband, is called in Shujá's rent-roll 'Bangálbhúm.'

I mentioned Mahall Mandalg'hát at the confluence of the Rúpnáráyan and the Húglí as the south-western frontier of Bengal. The Districts of Medinípúr and Hijlí (south-east of Medinípúr) were therefore excluded. They belonged to the kingdom of Orísá till A. H.¹ 975, or A. D. 1567,‡ when Sulaimán, king of Bengal, and his general Kálá Pahár defeated Mukund Deb, the last Gajpatí. Even after the Afghán conquest, Medinípúr and Hijlí continued to belong to the province of Orísá, when Khán Jahán Afghán was appointed by Dáud Sháh governor of Orísá, Qutlú Khán Lohání being made governor of Púrí. On the 20th Zí Qa'dah, 982, (3rd March, 1575) Mun'im Khán Khánán, Akbar's general, defeated Dáud Sháh at Tukaroí or Mughulmári, north of Jalesar, and in the peace of Kaṭak, in the beginning of 983, Bihár and Bengal were ceded. In 984, Dáud again invaded Lower Bengal, but was defeated and killed on the 15th Rabí' II, 984, near Ág Mahall by Husain Qulí Khán Jahán, when Bengal was again annexed to Dihli, and the Afgháns withdrew to Orísá. Then the Bengal Military Revolt broke out, and Orísá was invaded, in A. H. 1000, (A. D. 1592) by Mán Singh, when the country was finally annexed to the Dihli empire. Hence Medinípúr and Hijlí appear

* The name occurs in the *Aín* as a Mahall ; but as name for a large division it does not seem to have been used before the 18th century.

† The *Aín* also mentions a mahall Bhowálbhúm under Sirkár Madáran ; modern maps do not give this name.

‡ So according to the Akbarnámah. Stirling fixes an earlier date ; but Sulaimán reigned from A. H. 975 to 980. Besides, Akbar sent in 972-973 ambassadors to Mukund Deb.

together in Todar Mall's rent-roll as one of the 5 Sirkárs of the province of Orísá. Subsequently, Orísá had separate governors; but under Prince Shujá' their power was lessened, and the portion from Mandalg'hát to Baleswar (Balasore) was separated from Orísá and permanently attached to Bengal.*

Hijlí (*Hidgelee*, *Hedjelee*, Grant; *Hingeli*, Van den Broucke; *Ingellee*, Rennell; *Injelee*, Stewart, Marshman; *Angeli*, Purchas, De Laët, &c.) appears in the *Aín* under the name of Máljhattá. According to the legends preserved in the District, the Muhammadans first attempted a settlement during the reign of Husain Sháh of Bengal, about A. D. 1505, when one Táj Khán Masnad i 'Alí and his brother Sikandar Pahlawán established themselves at the mouth of the Rasúlpúr River,† opposite Ságár Island. They conquered the whole of Hijlí, which is said to have remained in the family for nearly eighty years, when it passed into the possession of a Hindú. As late as 1630 we hear of the conquest of Hijlí. "Hingeli, which had for many years a chief of its own, was conquered about 1630 by the Great Mogul; but in 1660, the lawful chief of Hingeli, who from a child had been kept a prisoner, found means to escape, and with the help of his own to re-conquer his country. But he did not long enjoy it: he was in 1661 brought into Aurangzeb's power with the help of the E. I. Company [the Dutch Company], and was again imprisoned and better looked after than at first."‡

The Southern Frontier.

The southern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal was the northern outskirt of the Sundarban, which extended, generally speaking, in the same manner almost as it now does, from Hatiágárh, south of Diamond Harbour on the Húglí,

* "Sjah Sousa had already during his time divided Hingeli from Orisa, and had put there a separato governor, and it is for this reason alone that Hingeli, which by position belongs to Orisa, has been attached to Bengal. So it is also with the governors of Ballasour and Pipeli [Piplí or Sháh bándár, now deserted, on the Subarnarekhá River], which the Great Mogul ordered once to be under the governor of Orisa and then again under the governor of Bengal, because the two places are close to the sea." F. Valentyn, Vol. V.

Van den Broucke's map of Bengal in 1660, given by Valentyn, still shews north-west of the town of Medinípúr the "Gedenksteen," or memorial stone, (corresponding to the 'Old Tower' of modern maps) that marked the frontier between Bengal and Orísá. Grant says that the coast of Hijlí and Medinípúr as far as Balasore (Baleswar) was attached to Bengal on account of the Mags and the Portuguese privateers, who were to some extent controlled by the Imperial fleet stationed at Dhéká.

† Few rivers in India have Muhammadan names. Due south of Contai the maps give a village of the name of Masnad 'Alípúr. Táj Khán's tomb is on the Rasúlpúr River.

‡ From Valentyn's work, Vol. V. The 'Alamgírnámah says nothing about it.

to Bágherháṭ in southern Jessoro and to the Haring'háṭá (Horingotta), or 'Deer-shore River ;' *i. e.* along the southern mahalls of Sirkárs Sátgáon and Khalifatábád. Beyond the Haring'háṭá and its northern portion, called the Madhúmatí or 'honey-flowing,' the frontier comprised Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, the modern districts of Farídhpúr and Báqirganj (north). Sirkár Fathábád included the islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr and Sondíp, at the mouth of the Megna. Tiparah, Bhaluah, Noak'hálí, and District Chátgáon, were contested ground, of which the Rájahs of Tiparah and Arakan were, at least before the 17th century, oftener masters than the Muhammadans. It was only after the transfer of the capital from Rájmahall to Dháká, that the south-east frontier of Bengal was extended to the Phaní River, which was the imperial frontier till the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign, when Chátgáon was permanently conquered, assessed, and annexed to 'Cúbah Bangálah.'

Various etymologies have been proposed in explanation of the word 'Sundarban.' It has been derived from *sundar* and *ban*, 'the beautiful forest ;' or from *sundarí*, a small timber tree (*Heretiera littoralis*), which is exported as fuel in vast quantities from the coast and is supposed to have been so called from its red wood. Others again have derived the word from Chandradip-ban, or Chandradip forest, from the large zamíndári of Chandradip, which occupies the south and south-east of Báqirganj District. Or, the name has been connected with the Chandabhandás,* an old Sundarban tribe. Grant derives it from Chandraband, 'the embankment of the moon,' which seems to have been the etymology that obtained at his time, and which has led to the spelling 'Soonderbund' adopted by Europeans.

The application of the name to the whole seacoast of southern Bengal is modern. Muhammadan historians call the coast strip from the Húglí to the Megna 'Bháti,' or 'low land subject to the influx of the tide,' and even now-a-days this name is very generally used. The sovereignty of this district, according to the Akbarnámah and the Rájah Pratápaditya legend, was divided among twelve chiefs; and Col. Wilford, whatever may have been the source of his information, says that "the kings of Arakan and Comillá were constantly striving for the mastery, and assumed the title of lords of the twelve Bhúniyás."†

The sea coast itself is marked on Van den Broucke's map in Valentyn's work as 'onbekent,' or 'unknown,' consisting of numerous islands and

* A copper plate grant in the possession of the Society, found at 'Adilpúr (Edilpore), mentions that the villages of Baguli, Bittogádá, and Udayamuna, were given, in the third year of the reign of Keshab Sen, *i. e.* in 1136 A. D., to one Jovaradeb Sarma. The grant mentions the tribe of the Chandabhandas. The reading Chandabanda, as Bábú Pratápachandra Ghosh informs me, is an improved reading for Chattabhatta, as the name was read by Gobind Ram; *vide* Journal, 1838, Vol. VII, p. 40.

† As. Researches, XIV, p. 451.

rivers, 'perculeous' for ships, being the place where the "Jagt ter Shelling"** founded in 1661.

In order to trace the direction of the northern outskirt of the Sundarban, as it existed some time before 1582 A. D., we have again recourse to Todar Mall's rent-roll in the Aín. There we find that Mahall IIatiágarh (below Diamond Harbour) was, in 1582, the most southerly assessed mahall of Sirkár Sátgáon. The jungle boundary then passed north-east to Barídhattí and Medinímall, north-west of Port Canning, to Bálindá and Máhihattí (Myehattee), then south again to Dhuliápúr,† and Bhaluká to the Kabadak River. These mahalls belong to what is now called the 24-Parganahs; and Sheet 121 of the Indian Atlas of the Survey Department will shew that they lie even now-a-days very little north of the present northern limit of the Sunderban in the 24-Parganahs. Going up the Kabadak, in Jessore, we come to Ámadí,‡ to the north of which, in the immediate neighbourhood, we have Masidkoor, a corruption of Masjidkur, one of the clearances of Khán Jahán (died A. D. 1459),§ the warrior saint of Khalifatábád or Southern Jessore, to whom the traditions of the present day point as an indefatigable establisher of Sunderban-ábádis (clearances.) The Aín then gives Mahall Tálá, with Tálá on the left bank of the Kabadak as chief town and Kopilmuni|| near it, and then mahalls Sáhas, Khálíçpúr, Charúliá, Rangdiyá (wrongly called in the Indian Atlas *Sangdia*) and Salímábád,¶ north of the modern Morrellganj at the beginning of the Haring'hátá. North-west of Morrellganj, on the Bhairab (the 'dreadful'), we have the small station of Bágherhát, which gives name to a Sub-Division, and in its immediate neighbourhood we come to another clearance by the patron-saint of Jessore, where his mosque and tomb stand. It is the country round about Bágherhát which up to the end of last century bore the name given it in the Aín, 'Haweli Khalifatábád,' the 'Vicerent's clearance.' Here, amidst the creeks and the jungles, which no horseman can approach, Nuçrat Sháh, as will be seen below, erected a mint, apparently in opposition to his father 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh.**

* Vida Mr. Foster's article, Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 36.

† North of Ishwarípúr (Issuripore), the residence of Pratápaditya.

‡ Marked wrongly on the Survey map Armadi. Rennell has correctly Amadi.

§ Westland, Jessore Report, p. 20; Gaur Dás Baisákh, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1867, pp. 130, 131; also, Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

|| Rash Bihári Bose, J. A. S. Bengal, 1870, Part I, p. 235; Westland, Jessoro Report, Chapt. VI, and p. 286.

¶ Here also the Aín has the form Sulaimánábád.

** It is curious that a little higher up on the Bhairab, east of Khulná, where the Athárabanka (the 'eighteen windings') joins the Bhairab, there is an 'Aláipúr, i. e. 'Aláuddín's town. Were it not for the distinct statement of the *Riyázussaládín* that 'Aláuddín, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a Chandpúr (a very

Thus we see that in southern Jessoré also the northern limit of the Sundarban has not considerably changed since 1450 A. D.

Passing from the Haring'háṭá eastward, we come to Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád. Sirkár Baklá only contained four mahalls, *viz.* Ismá'ilpúr or Baklá ; Srirámpúr ; Sháhzádpúr ; and 'Adilpúr, (from 'ádil' just,' corrupted on the maps to Edilpore), which all belong to Báqirganj District. Abulfazl, in speaking of the great cyclone that swept in 1583 over Baklá, says that the then zamindár of Baklá had a son of the name of Pramánand Rái. Sirkár Fathábád derives its name from the Haweli mahall Fathábád, in which the modern station of Farídpúr lies. Yúsuspúr and Belpálí, in Jessoré District ; Haweli Fathábád and Sirdiá (Sherdia), in Farídpúr ; Balaur, Telhattí, Saráil or Jalálpúr,* Khargapúr, in both Farídpúr and Dháká ; Hazratpúr, in Dháká ; Rasílpúr, in Dháká and Báqirganj ; the Islands of Sondíp and Shahbázpúr ; and a few other mahalls which I have not yet identified, belong to this Sirkár. Thus we see that the greater portion of both Sirkárs lies between the Haring'háṭá (Madhúmatí) and the Títuliá River, which flows between Báqirganj District and the island of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr. At the mouth of the Títuliá we find the Don Manik Islands, one of the few still surviving geographical names of the Portuguese.† Opposite to these islands we have mahall Názi r púr, which we find on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu, placed rather far to the north. Near it, we also have 'Fatiabas',‡ the chief town of Sirkár Fathábád. 'The whole south and south-east of Báqirganj District is occupied by the old Chandradíp zamindári, which according to some, as we saw above, gives name to the Sundarban. On Rennell's map it is marked 'depopulated by the Mugs.'

Abulfazl says that there were in Sirkár Fathábád three classes of zamindárs, which perhaps refers to the independent Afghán, Hindú, and Portuguese chiefs. When Akbar's army, in 1574, under Mun'im Khán-Khánán invaded Bengal and Orisá, Murád Khán, one of the officers, was despatched to South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the common name) in Rádha District, *i. e.* west of the Húglí, I would be inclined to identify the Chandpúr near this 'Aláipúr as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal kings had its home, especially because Husain first obtained power in the adjacent district of Farídpúr (Fathábád), where his earliest coins are struck.

The Indian atlas (sheet No. 121) spells 'Aláipúr 'Alypore,' which blots out every historical recollection, and places it moreover wrongly on the right bank, instead of on the left, of the Athárabanká. 'Aláipúr is a flourishing place and has numerous potteries.

* Which, like the name of the Sirkár, reminds us of *Jaláluddín Fath Sháh*.

† Their names for Húglí (Porto Piqueno) and for Chátgáon (Porto Grande) are no longer known ; but Sherpúr Firingí, Firingibázár, Point Palmyras, still remind us of their former importance in this part of India.

‡ Van den Broucke's map has wrongly Fathpúr.

Akbarnámah, Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, and settled there ; but after some time, he came into collision with Mukund, the powerful Hindú zamíndár of Fathábád and Bosnah, who, in order to get rid of him, invited him to a feast and murdered him together with his sons.* This notice helps us to explain a remark made by Grant that in Sháh Shujá's rent-roll (1658) a portion of Sundarban land had for the first time been assessed at Rs. 8,454, the ábádis being called Murádkhánah.† The name of Mukund still lives in the name of the large island 'Char Mukundia' in the Ganges opposite Farídpúr. This Mukund is the same zamíndár whom the Pádiháhnámah wrongly calls 'Mukindra of Bosnah.' His son Satrít gave Jahángír's governors of Bengal no end of trouble, and refused to send in the customary *peskkash* or do homage at the court of Dháká. He was in secret understanding with the Rájahs of Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, and was at last, in the reign of Sháhjahán, captured and executed at Dháká (about 1636, A. D.) One of his descendants, or successors in the zamíndári, is the notorious Sítáram Rái of Malmúdpúr.‡

Another Zamíndár of Fathábád is mentioned in the beginning of Sháhjahán's reign, Majlis Báyazíd,—by his very name an Afghán.

The Parganahs to the south of Báqirganj are called on the maps 'Boozooroomedpore' and 'Arungpore,' which names are connected with Buzurg Umed Khán, son of Sháistah Khán (Aurangzib's governor of Bengal from 1664 to 1677) and with Aurangzib, 'Arang' being a corruption of Aurang. East of these two Parganahs we have Sháistah-nagar.§ These names, though they do not perhaps shew when the mahalls were reclaimed, point to the time when they came for the first time on the Imperial rent-roll.

Sirkár Fathábád, as stated above, comprised the islands of Dak'hin-Shahbzúpúr, Sondíp, &c. Of the latter island we have a short notice by Cæsar Frederick, the Venetian merchant, who travelled in Asia, as he himself says, from 1563 to 1581. He left Pegú for Chatigan (Chátgáon), "between

* Áín translation, p. 374.

† Grant derives the name from *murád* and *khánah*, the 'house of desire'; but there is little doubt that we should derive it from Murád Khán, 'Murád Khán's clearance.' I do not know to what part of Báqirganj or Farídpúr the name was applied. Grant also says that Murád Khánah was sometimes called Jerádkhanah.

‡ Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, for 1872, Part I, pp. 58, 59. Satrít's name occurs in the name of the town of Satrítpur on the Noboganga, in north-eastern Jessore, not far from Mahmúdpúr (wrongly called Mahomedpore on all modern maps) on the Madhúmatí and from the old town of Bosnah, on the Alangk'hálí [Ellenkallí] Branch. Vide Westland's Jessore Report, p. 32.

§ Sháistah Khán's real name is Mírzá Abú Tálib; hence we find in Dháká District a Tálibábád. Núr Jahán was Sháistah Khán's aunt; vide Áín translation, p. 612.

which two places there was much commerce in silver,"* but "encountered a 'Touffon' (*túfán*, cyclone), which take place in the East Indies every ten or twelve years ; they are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible but to those that have seen it," and was driven to Sondíp. "And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a-land : presently they made a place of *bazar*, or a market, with shops right over against the ship, with all manner of provision to eate, which they brought down in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapness thereof. I bought many salted kine there for the provision of the ship for half a *Larine* apiece, which *Larine*† may be 12 shillings 6 pence, being very good and fat ; and 4 wilde hogges ready dressed for a *Larine* ; great fat hennes for a *Bizze* [pice] a piece, which is at the most a penny : and the people told us that we were deceived the half of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sack of rice for a thing of nothing ; and consequently all other things for humaine sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seen it. This Island is called Sondiva, belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120 miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had been a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all."

Ralph Fitch also was about the same time in south-eastern Bengal. He says, "From Chatigan in Bengala I came to Bacola [Sirkár Baklá] ; the king whereof is a Gentile [Hindú], a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful, and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked except a little cloth about their waste. The women wear great store of silver hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

" From Bacola I went to Serrepore,‡ which standeth upon the river Ganges, the king is called Choudery. They be all here abouts rebels against their king Zebaldim Echebar :§ for here are so many rivers and islands,

* The export of silver from Pogú to Bengal may have supplied the Bengal mints with silver. Sir A. Phayre and Dr. T. Oldham speak of the export of gold from Burma to the Coromandel coast. Considerable quantities of silver may also have come from Asám, where silverpieces even for small fractions of a rupee were current.

† Lári (لاری). Aín translation, pp. 23, 37. It is so called from Láristán in Persia.

‡ Sherpúr Firingí, marked by Van den Broucke a little south of Idrákpúr, on the Dalásari, in Paganah Bikrampúr, where Rájá Ballál Sen's residence was. It is not given on modern maps.

§ The first *b* is a constant misprint for *l*: Jaláluddín Akbar.

that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

“Sinnergan [Sunnárgáon] is a towne six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief king of all these countries is called Isacan,* and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. *** I went from Serrepore the 28th November 1582 for Pegu.”

Sondíp was only conquered in the end of 1666 (middle of Jumáda II., 1076), when Diláwar Khán Zamíndár submitted, though not without fighting, to Aurangzíb’s army that invaded Chátgáoñ.

I have a few words to say on the hypothesis which has often been started, that the whole of the Sundarban was once in a flourishing condition. No convincing proof† has hitherto been adduced; and I believe, on physical grounds, that the supposition is impossible. The sporadic remains of tanks, gháts, and short roads, point to mere attempts at colonization. The old Portuguese and Dutch maps have also been frequently mentioned as affording testimony that the Sundarban, even up to the 16th century, was well cultivated; and the difficulty of identifying the mysterious names of the five Sundarban towns Pacaculi, Cuipitavaz, Noldy, Dipuria (or Dapara), and Tiparia, which are placed on the maps of De Barros, Blaeu, and Van den Broucke close to the coast-line, has inclined people to believe that they represent “lost towns.” Now the first of these five towns, from its position, belongs to the Sundarban of the 24-Parganahs, and the second (Cuipitavaz) to that of Jessore District, whilst the remaining three lie east of it. But Pacaculi is either, as Col. Gastrell once suggested to me, a mistake for Pacacuti, i. e. *pakká koṭhí*,‡ a factory or warehouse, erected by some trading company, as we find several along the Húglí; or it stands for Penchakuli, the name of the tract opposite the present mouth of the Damúdar, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. Cuipitavaz I have no hesitation to identify with Khalífatábád.§ Van den Broucke also places it correctly south-east of Jessore. Noldy is the town and mahall of Noldí (Naldí) on the Noboganga, east of Jessore, near the Madhúmatí. Dipuria is Dapara, or Daspara, south-east of Báqirganj station, near the right bank of the Tituliá, still prominently marked on Rennell’s map; and Tiparia cannot stand for anything else but the district of Tiparah, which is correctly placed north-east of Daspara.

* ’Isá Khán. Abul Fazl calls him ‘king of Bhúti,’ and says that twelve zamíndárs were under him. He was powerful enough to make war with Koch Bihár. Vide Áin translation, p. 342, note.

† Westland, Jessore Report, p. 231.

‡ Houses are either *kachchá* [mud-houses], or *pakká*, brick or stone-built.

§ The letter *f* often turns in Bangálí to *p*; hence Khalífatábád becomes Kolípit-ábád. Thus Firúzpúr becomes Perojepore.

The old Portuguese and Dutch maps, therefore, prove nothing. They support the conclusion which I drew from Todar Mall's rent-roll, that in the 24-Parganahs and Jessore the northern limit of the Sundarban, omitting recent clearances, was in the fifteenth century much the same as it is now. But considerable progress must have been made in Báqirganj District, as we see from the numerous accessions, during that period, to the Imperial rent-roll.

Of other names given on old maps along the southern boundary of Bengal, we have (above Noldy) Nao Muluco (?), Buram (Borhun, in the 24-Parganahs); Maluco (Bhaluká, on the Kabadak, ?); west of them, Agrapara and Xore, (Agrapára and Dak'hineshor, north of Calcutta); and on the other side of the Húglí, Begaca, which seems to be some Ámgáchha, unless it is slightly misplaced and refers to Ambiká (Kalnah); Bernagar, which should be Barnagar, on the other side of the river below Xore; Betor (?) as on Blaeu's map, and Belor, (?) on that of De Barros. Van den Broucke's map gives, in Húglí District, Sjanabath (Jahánábád); Sjandercona (Chandrakoná); Cannacoel (Kánákul); Deniachali (Dhonek'háli); Caatgam (Sátgáon); Tripeni (Trípaní, the Muhammadan form of Tribení); Pandua (Panquah); Sjanegger; Basanderi (the old mahall Basandhari), where Van den Broucke makes the remark, 't Bosh Sanderie alwaar Alexandre M. gestuyt werd,' 'the bush Sanderie where Alexander the Great was stopped!'

Again, along the lower Ganges the old maps have Bicaram (Bikram-pur, south of Dháká); Belahdy; Angara (Angaria, at the confluence of the Kirtinásá and the Megna); Sornagam (Sunnárgáon); Dacca; Mularangue;* Bunder (Bandar, 'harbour'); Nazirpur, mentioned above; Bulnei or Bulnec, ?; Guacala or Gueala, perhaps a mistake for Bacala; Noorkuly or Noricoel, as Van den Broucke gives it, (Noríkol, due south of Dháká, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinásá); Sundiva (Sondíp Island); Jugadia (Jogdiah in Noák'háli near the Little Phaní, mentioned in the 'Álamgírnámah as an Imperial thánah, and often quoted as the seat of English and French factories in the eighteenth century); Traquetea, ?; Maua, or Moua, and Alvia, for which Van den Broucke gives Mava and Alvia, ?; Jefferi, on Van den Broucke's map, the same as Reunell's Jeffri, at the mouth of the Phaní, right bank.

The coast of Arakan on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu is broken up into numerous islands as the Sundarban coast: it looks as if some of them belonged to Bengal. Thus we find Bulua and Bacala, which must refer to Bhaluah in south Tiparah and Baklá. Chokuria may be identified with Chukuria, marked on modern maps opposite Maskal Island, on the Mamorí

* As this place is marked on an island south-west of Dháká, it seems to be Mál-nadángi in the south of Char Mukundiá.

River, as thánah and saltgolah ; but the names Irabu, Maoa (perhaps a mere repetition of the Maua given above), Santatoly, Orieton, are unknown to me.

Blaev's map (Pl. IV) and the Chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul by N. Saussion (A. D. 1652) give opposite Chatigam (Chittagong) a town, called Bengala or Bengola. Purchas (a compiler who never came to India) says in his ' Pilgrims,' " Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala are faire Cities. Of this, the Gulf, sometimes called *Gangeticus*, now beareth name *Golfo di Bengala*." Rennell, in his ' Memoir,' mentions the town as being given " in some ancient maps and books of travels ; but no traces of such a place exist." But he says that it is placed near the eastern branch of the Ganges, and that it may have been carried away by the river (Ganges ?). Lately also, a writer in Mookerjea's Journal (Dec. 1872), Mr. H. J. Rainey, published an imaginative account of the submersion of this now lost city, which in his opinion had given name to the kingdom of Bengal. But the town is nowhere mentioned by Muhammadan historians, nor by Ibn Baṭūṭah, Caesar Frederick, and Ralph Fitch who were in Chátgáon, nor by De Barros and Van den Broucke. The probability, therefore, is that no such town ever existed, and that the name was put on Blaev's map from Purchas's statement ; or else the name ' Bengola' is a mere corruption of what we call a ' Bungalow' (بَنْجَلَه, *bangalah*), or a ' Flagstaff Bungalow,' of which we find several marked on District maps of Chittagong along the Karanphúlí River, as early as on Rennell's chart. However, this mysterious town is not to be identified with the place ' Dianga' given by Van den Broucke half way between Chittagong and Rammoo (Rámú, or Rambú*), because Dianga is the Dak'hindángá or the Bráhmandángá, both on the Sangú River, south of Chátgáon, where saltgolahs still exist.†

Regarding the State of Codavaseam, which the old maps place east and north-east of Chátgáon, *vide* Wilford's Essay, As. Researches, Vol. XIV, p. 450.

The province of Chátgáon was no secure possession, and seems to have been alternately in the hands of the kings of Bengal, the Rájahs of Tiparah, and the kings of Arakan. In 750 A. II. (A. D. 1350), about which year Ibn Baṭúṭah was in Chátgáon,‡ it belonged to king Fakhruddín of Sunnárgáon. That year falls within the reign of the Arakanese king Meng-di, who is said to have reigned from A. D. 1279 to 1385, or 106 years,§ when the king of Thu-ra-tan (Bengal), called Nga-pu-kheng, courted

* The most south-easterly point to which the Mughuls advanced.

† The word ' dângá,' which occurs so often in geographical names in Bengal, signifies ' high land.'

‡ Called in Leo's translation مَدْكُوَان. Regarding Fakhruddín *vide* below.

§ *Vide* Sir A. P. Phayre's History of Arakan, Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1844, p.

45. Thu-ra-tan Sir Arthur Phayre identifies with Sunnárgáon.

his alliance. About 1407, again, the king Meng-tsau-mwun fled to Bengal, and witnessed the war between Rájah Káns and Jaunpúr. He was ultimately restored to his throne with the help of Bengal troops; but he became "tributary to the king of Thu-ra-tan, and from this time the coins of the Arakan kings bore on the reverse their names and titles in the Persian character. This custom was probably first made obligatory upon them as vassals; but they afterwards continued it *when they had recovered their independence, and ruled the country as far as the Brahmaputra River.* Meng-tsau-mwun, having got rid of his allies, meditated a change of capital."

In 1512, Chátgáon was conquered, according to the Ráj Málá,* by the Rájah of Tiparah, who drove away Husain Sháh's garrison. Whether the Rájah of Tiparah kept it for any time is doubtful; for in 1517, "John de Sylvera was invited by the king of Arakan, and he appears to have gone to Chatigam, then a port of that king's dominions."† Anyhow, we can now understand why Nuçrat Sháh, Husain Sháh's son, should have invaded Chátgáon;‡ but although popular belief ascribes to his invasion the first Muhammadan settlements in the District, it is clear from the preceding that his invasion cannot have been the first.

It is not known how the District was again lost; but during the troubles of Sher Sháh's revolution, the Mughul invasion, the aggressions of the Portuguese, and the Bengal Military Revolt, Chátgáon did not belong to Bengal. If, therefore, Todar Mall in 1582 included it in his rent-roll, he did so on the principle on which he included Kalinga Dandpút and Sirkár Rájah-mandri in the rent-roll of Orísá.§

The Eastern Frontier.

The eastern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal extended from Sunnár-gáon and the Megna (but in Sháhjahán's reign, from the Phaní River over southern and western Tiparah) northward, and then passed to the east including the District of Silhaṭ. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills to Mahall Sherpúr in northern

* Journal, A. S. Bengal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, pp. 545, 546.

† *Vide* Sir A. Phayro's History of Pegu, J. A. S. B., 1873, pt. I, 127.

‡ For particulars *vide* my extract from the *Tárikh-i Hamídí* in Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 336.

§ "From Satagam [Sátgáon-Húglí] I travelled by the country of the king of Tipara, with whom the Mogen [Mags] have almost continual warres. The Mogen which bo of the kingdom of Recon [Rakhainy, Arakan] and Ramo [Rámú], be stronger than the king of Tipara, so that Chatigan, or Porto Grando, is often times under the king of Recon." Ralph Fitch.

Muhammadan historians spell the word 'Rakaing' رخانگ, *Rakhang*, or give the still shorter form رخ, *Rukh*, whence De Laët's "Roch, on the borders of Bengala."

Maimansingh to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmári, and from here along the river to Mahall Bhitarband, which formed the north-east frontier. The sirkárs that lay along the boundary were Sunnárgáon, Búzihá, Silhat, and G'horíghát; and the neighbouring countries to the east were Tiparah, Kachhár (the old Hirumba), the territories of the independent Rájahs of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills, and, on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, the Karibári Hills, the zamíndárs of which were the Rájahs of Sosang. They depended in reality on the powerful kingdom of Koch Hájó,* the 'Azo' or 'Asoe' of old maps, which extended along the left bank of the Brahmaputra to Kámruk. In the Karibári Hills, the Muhammadans possessed, opposite to Chilmári, the old frontier thánah Hatsilah, which Rennell still marks as 'Hautchella.' The north-eastern frontier was never absolutely fixed. Baritalah, on Van den Broucke's map *Bareithella*, was looked upon as a frontier town till the beginning of Aurangzib's reign.

The invasions on the part of the Asamese were as numerous as the inroads of the Muhammadans into Ásám, which had commenced under the successors of Bakhtyár Khiljí. During the reigns of Rájah Káns and his son, the Asamese under Chudangpha (A. D. 1414 to 1425) conquered north-eastern Bengal as far as the Karataya;† and as about the same time Jaumpur was at the height of its power, successfully encroaching on the western frontier, and the Rájahs of Tiparah made likewise invasions,‡ we may assume that Bengal under the kings of the Káns dynasty was most circumscribed. With the restoration of the Ilyás Sháhí dynasty (about A. D. 1440) and the gradual downfall of Jaumpur, Bengal recovered her ancient limits, and entered upon her most flourishing period. The invasion of Husain Sháh into Kámruk is well known;§ but Kámruk was only permanently annexed in 1637, when Gauhattí became the north-eastern frontier of Bengal.

Silhat, as we shall see below, was conquered in A. D. 1384, and the earliest inscription hitherto found there, belongs to the reign of Yúsuf Sháh (A. D. 1480). North-western Silhat had the name of Láúd, or Láúr, and the thánah which the Muhammadans established there, was under the commander of the 'Iqlím Mu'azzamábád,' 'the territory of Mu'azzamábád,' also called 'Mahmúdábád.' The exact extent of Mu'azzamábád is still unknown; but the name occurs on coins and on Sunnárgáon inscriptions, once in conjunction with Láúr, and once with Tiparah, and it seems, therefore, as if the "iqlím" extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and

* *Vide Journal, A. S. Bengal, Part I, 1872, p. 53.*

† So according to the Ásám Búranjí; *vide Useful Tables, p. 273.*

‡ *Rájmálá, J. A. S. B., XIX, 1850, p. 542.*

§ *J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, pp. 79, 335.*

the right bank of the Surmá. In the Aín, we find, indeed, under Sirkár Sunnárgáon, a Mahall Mu'azzampúr, the chief town of which lies between the Brahmaputra and the Lak'hia and bears the same name. The present inhabitants, as Dr. Wise tells me, know nothing of its ancient renown; and the only old building is a ruinous dargáh, called after a saint Sháh Langar, the impression of whose foot draws crowds of pilgrims about the time of the I'd ulfitr festival. The saint is said to have come from Egypt.

The thánah Láúr is also mentioned in the Aín as a Mahall of Sirkár Silhaṭ, which consisted of Partábgáḥ; Pančkhand; Banyáychang; Bajúā Bayájí (?) ; Jaintiá ; Haweli Silhaṭ; Satrk'handal; Láúd,* and Harinagar. The author of the *Haft Iqlím* calls Silhaṭ repeatedly سری ھٹ *Sriḥaṭ*, and this forms explains perhaps the 'Reino Sirote,' which De Barros and Blaeu give instead of 'Silhaṭ' (*vide* Pl. IV). The town of Sirote is correctly placed on the right bank of the Surmá, which leaves no doubt as to the identity of both names.

Kámrvúp, which also appears under the names of Kámrvúd, Kámrvú, and Kámwrú, is often mentioned together with Kámamatá.† The Brahmaputra which Ibn Baṭúṭah calls the 'Blue River,' is correctly described by the old traveller as coming from the mountains of Kámrvúp. De Barros, however, and Blaeu give the river the name of Caor, and show it as flowing from the Reino de Caor, north of Comota and Sirote. Wilford identifies Caor with "Geda or Gaur, *i. e.* Gorgáñw," meaning G'hargáon, the capital of A'sám. But G'hargáon (which is the correct spelling) was only built by Chu-klun-pha, between A. D. 1549 and 1563, *i. e.* at a time when the materials had long been sent to Europe from which De Barros in Lisbon wrote his book. It seems, therefore, more natural to compare 'Caor' either with 'Gaur,' the old name of northern Silhaṭ, and which under the form of Gor is placed by Blaeu north of Bengal, or with the name of the Gáros who inhabit the hills near the bend of the Brahmaputra.‡

The south-east frontier was Tiparah, or Tripura, spelt on old Muhammadan inscriptions *Típúrah*, whence perhaps the form Tipora given by De Barros and Blaeu. Abulfazl, in the Aín i Akbari, says—"Tiparah is independent; its king is Bijai Mánik. The kings all bear the name of Mánik,"§

* So at least according to some MSS. *Vide* my text edition, p. 406, where مسر کھنڈل is a misprint for ستر کھنڈل. Láúr lies at the foot of the hills.

† For Kámamatá *vide* below. Husain Sháh is said to have invaded Kámrvúp and Kámamatá; and the Aín says, Kámrvúp and Kámamatá are in the possession of the Rájahs Koch Biláár.

‡ Regarding Wilford's identification of Sirote, *vide* Asiatic Researches, XIV, pp. 397, 436. The places which Blaeu gives between Gor and Caor, as Kunduana, Mewat, &c., are mentioned below.

§ According to the Rájmálá, the kings of Gaur had conferred this title on the Tiparah Rájahs. It is impossible to reconcile the discrepancy between the Rájmálá and the Aín as regards the time when Bijai Mánik reigned. According to the Aín

and the nobles that of Náráyan." The military power was estimated at 200,000 foot and 1,000 elephants; and numerous invasions of Silhaṭ and Sunnárgáon by the Rájahs of Tiparah are mentioned in the Rájmálá. The old capital was Udaipúr, or Rángámáti, on the left bank of the Gúmtí. Hence Van den Broucke speaks of 'Oedapoer and Tipera';* but on his map he places between Tipera and the Brahmaputra, above Bolua, the "Ryk van Udesse," which is not marked on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu. As he does not mention Udesse in his text, the name is either a mistake for Udaipúr, or he has been misled by his countryman De Laët, who says, "Udessa, or Udeza, whose metropolis is Jokanat or Jekanat, the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Mag kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians," and who thus places Orísá (Odesá) and Jagarnáth near Arakan.

The western and southern portions of Tiparah are included in Todar Mall's rent-roll in Sirkár Sunnárgáon; but they were only conquered, according to Grant, in Sháhjahán's reign; and in A. D. 1728, we hear of a re-conquest, when the district was placed on the rent-roll under the name of Raushanábád.

Before going further, I have a few words to say on the country of Jánagar, which Stewart, Stirling, Dowson, and Thomas agree in identifying with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson, however, also apply the name to a portion of Orísá, and compare the word with the name of the town of Jájpúr, north-east of Kaṭak, on the Baitaraní. Jánagar is mentioned as a country full of wild elephants (مرغزار فیل) in the Tabaqát i Náqirí, and the two Tárikh i Fíruz Sháhís, *i. e.* up to about A. D. 1440, after which the name disappears. It also occurs in the Áín; but the passage refers to the reign of Hoshang of Málwah (A. D., 1405 to 1434).†

It is first mentioned as lying, together with Bang, Kámrúd, and Tirhut, near the kingdom of Lak'hnautí;‡ and when Tughán Khán (Izzuddín Abul Fath Tughril) invaded Jánagar, he left Lak'hnautí city in Shawwál, 641, and arrived after about a month, on the 6th Zí Qa'dah, at Katásan, the frontier of Jánagar.§ In the following year, 642 [A. D., 1244], the Rái of Jánagar invades the kingdom of Lak'hnautí, and first seizes on Lak'hnor, which above was identified with Ráṭha (west of the Húgli), where he kills the jágírdár Fakhruddín Lágharí, and then marches on Lak'hnautí.

He would have reigned towards the end of the 16th century; but the Rájmálá places his reign much earlier. Journal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, p. 546.

* "The countries of Oedapoer and Tiparah are sometimes independent, sometimes under the great Mogul, and sometimes even under the king of Arakan."

† It may be that Dák'hin historians use the term to a later period.

‡ Tab. Náqirí, p. 163.

§ Loc. cit., p. 244. Katásan has not been identified. The MSS. have also Katás, and Kathsin.

This remark would seem to shew that, in the opinion of the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, Jájnagar lay somewhere west or south-west of the Bardwán and Húglí Districts, *i. e.* in Jhárkhand, or Chutiá Nágpúr.

The next invasion, on a large scale, was undertaken by the Emperor Balban, who in his pursuit of Sultán Mughís, about A. D. 1280, marched from Lakhnautí to Sunnárgáon, the independent Rái of which makes himself responsible not to let Mughís escape either by land or by water. From Sunnárgáon,* Balban arrives, after a march of 60 or 70 *kos*, at the confines of Jájnagar, where Mughís is surprised and killed.

From this remark by Baraní, Stewart, Stirling, Thomas, and Dowson† conclude that Jájnagar corresponds to Tiparah; and the eastern parts of Hill Tiparah certainly lie about 70 *kos* from Sunnárgáon. The Rájmálá, however, does not state that Tiparah had the name of Jájnagar.

Jájnagar is again mentioned during the reign of Ghiyásuddín Tughluq, when Ulugh Khán, in 1323 A. D., invades Talinga, Jájnagar, and Bedar;‡ and lastly, when Firúz Sháh, after his second unsuccessful invasion of Bengal to conquer Sikandar, returns, in 1360, from Hazrat Panduah to Zafarábád and Jaunpúr,§ where he stays during the rainy season. He then marches over Bihár to Jájnagar; arrives at Satgarh (?), the Rái of which retreats; then comes to Báránasí, the residence of a great Rái; crosses the Mahindri, and goes for some distance into Talinga, to which country the Rái had fled. Firúz Sháh then retreats, passes through the country of Rái Paríhán [Bir Bhán Deo, *Lucknow Edition*], and arrives in Padmávatí and Baramtalá, great fields for elephants, and returns quickly to Kárahs.||

Lastly, in the Áín (my text edition, p. 472, l. 6), Hoshang of Málwah goes in disguise to Jájnagar, in order to obtain elephants.

In these passages it is clear that Jájnagar represents a country between Talinga and Bihár, or, as expressed in the *Ṭabaqát*, west of Rápha, *i. e.*, the

18553.

* Baraní, p. 87. The Bibl. Indica Edition has Hájínagar, Jájnagar, and (once) Jájnagar.

† History of India, Vol. III, pp. 112, 113. The Bibl. Indica Edition of Badáoni, I, p. 129, calls Mughís wrongly Mu'izz, and says that he had gone towards Jájnagar and Túrkilah (or Nárkilah, as the Lucknow edition of Badáoni has).

‡ Badáoni, I, 223. Dowson, III, 234. Baraní, 450.

§ Zafarábád, which is so often mentioned by Muhammadan historians, lies on the right bank of the Gúmtí, a little below Jaunpúr, which lies on the left bank. The maps give, of course, Jaffurabad.

|| Badáoni, I, 247. Dowson, III, 312 to 316. Dowson has Banárasí, for Báránasí; and Firishtah (Lucknow edition, p. 147) has 'Banáras, which is the residence of the Rái of Jájnagar.'

Kátaک is called in the Áín 'Kátaک Banáras'; and from the account translated by Dowson from 'Affí it is clear that south-western Orísa is meant, although the comparison of Jájnagar and Jápúr may be redundant. Rennell in his Bengal Atlas (Map VII) gives a Baramtalá in Singhbhúm, near northern Mayurbhanj.

wild districts of western Orísa, Chutiá Nágpúr, and the eastern portions of the Central Provinces, of which Ratanpúr, Bastar, and Sirgúja are also mentioned in the Aín as hunting places for wild elephants. But it is remarkable that Baraní, in relating Balban's expedition, places Jánagar 70 *kos* beyond Sunnárgáon, whilst in his account of Tughluq Sháh's reign he gives the same name to a district near Talinga; and we are forced either to believe that there were two Jánagars, one famous for elephants near south-western Bengal (Tabaqát i Náçíri, Baraní, Firúzsháhí, Aín), and another in Tiparah or south-eastern Bengal (on the testimony of a single passage in Baraní); or to assume that there was in reality only one Jánagar, bordering on south-western Bengal, and that Baraní in the above single passage wrote Sunnárgáon by mistake for Sátgáon,* which would remove all difficulties.

The Northern Frontier.

From Bhítarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra, and in later times from Gauhattí in Kámrup over K'hortag'hát, the frontier passed along the southern portions of Koch Bihár to Mahall Pátgáon, or Pátgrám (west of Koch Bihár), which is mentioned by Mughul historians as the frontier-town in the extreme north, and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepál to the northern portions of Púrniah District. Thus by far the greater portion of what is now-a-days called the Koch Bihár Division, did not belong to Bengal.

The Sirkárs along the northern frontier were G'horág'hát, Panjrah, Tájpúr, and Púrniah.

The inhabitants of northern Bengal according to the Tabaqát i Náçíri were the Koch, Mech, and Thárú tribes, whose Mongolian features struck the first invaders as peculiar.†

The Rájahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve a semi-independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtyár Khiljí, when Debkot, near Dínájpúr, was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north.

During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rangpúr was in the hands of the Rájahs of Kámata (କମତା), to which country passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Comotah,' or Comotay, on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (Pl. IV). The town of

* Baraní's statement of the distance of 70 *kos* would admirably suit Sátgáon; it would bring us to Mayurbhanj and western Chutiá Nágpúr.

† For 'Thárú' Stowart has *Neharu*, but there can be no doubt that the author of the Tabaqát means the Thárús of Mithila. *Vide* Dalton, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 126; J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, p. 66.

The Pádishiáhnámah says of the Asamese also that they resemble in features the Qaráqalpáks of southern Siberia.

Kámatá, or Kámatápúr, lay on the eastern bank of the Darlá river, which flows south-west of the town of Koch Bihár, and joins the Brahmaputra near Bagwah. The river near its confluence with the Brahmaputra, separates mahall Bhitarband from Bahirband. The town itself and the Darlá river are correctly marked on the old maps. Buchanan estimated the circumference of Kámatápúr at nineteen miles; the palace, as in the case of Burmese and Chinese towns, stands in the centre. History informs us that Kámatá was invaded, about 1498 A. D., by Husain Sháh, and legends state that the town was destroyed and Nilamba, the last Kámatá Rájah, was taken prisoner. He escaped, however, and disappeared; but people believe that at some time in future he will be restored.

The Kámatá family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty, to which the present Maharájá of Koch Bihár belongs. The new Rájás secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation.

The prevalence of human sacrifices in Koch Bihár is known from the Áin. The *Haft Iglím* has the following: "There is a cave in this country, which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is Áí, and the people are zealous in their worship. Once a year they have a feast, when they kill all sorts of animals found in the country, believing that the meritoriousness of the slaughter comes from Áí. They likewise kill on the same day the Bhogís, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to Áí, saying that Áí has called them. From the time they become Bhogís, they may do what they like; every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed."

The first European traveller that visited Koch Bihár was Ralph Fitch. He says: "I went from Bengala into the country of Couche or Quicheu, which lies 25 days' journey northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentilo; his name is Suckel Counse;* his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate.† All the country is set with bamboos or canes made sharp at both endes and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deep, so that men nor horses can pass. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silk and musk and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvelous great, of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be young. There they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have

* Shukl Gosáin; *vide* my essay on Koch Bihár and Asám, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 53.

† I. e. the place where the merchants from China meet. Cacchegate is Chichákota, north of the town of Koch Bihár and south of Baksa Fort, Long. $89^{\circ} 35'$, in the Bengal Dúárs. It is now British.

hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame, they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which often times they use to eate."

As Ralph Fitch mentions Chichákotá, and the 'Álamgírnámah Kanthalbári,* as belonging to the Koch Bihár, it follows that portions of the Dúárs must have once belonged to Koch Bihár.

Aurangzib's army under Mír Jumlah took Koch Bihár on the 19th December, 1661, when the town was called 'Álamgírnagar,† a name which has not come into use; and the imperial collectors expected to raise a revenue of eight lák'hs of rupees, whilst in Prince Shujá's rentroll of 1658 Koch Bihár is put down as yielding Rs. 3,27,794.

On Van den Broucke's map, the whole Himálaya tract, from northern Bihár to Asám, is called 'T Ryk van Ragiawarra,' or the realm of Rájáwárá and in the text he says, that "Ragiawara consists of several separate countries, which sometimes fight the Great Mogul, and at other times are forced to submit." Of these several countries he mentions on the map 'T Ryk van Morang and 'T Ryk van Jesval, which latter name is also given on Blaeu's map and will be remarked on below.

The Morang was entered by Mughul troops in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign. We first hear of an expedition led by Mírzí Khán, Faujdár of Darbhanga, and Iláh Virdí Khán, Faujdár of Gorákhpúr, against the refractory zamíndár of Morang (beginning of 1075, or end of A. D. 1664). Mírzá Khán died during the expedition; but Iláh Virdí Khán returned with fourteen wild elephants and nine presentation elephants.‡ In the end of 1079 (beginning of 1669), Ma'cúm Khán reported that a false Shujá' had appeared in Morang and had caused disturbances there, and Ibráhím Khán and Fidái Khán received orders to capture him wherever he shewed himself, and to send his head to Court. Lastly, in 1087 (beginning of 1676), we hear of a conquest of Morang, but no particulars are given.

* West of Kanthalbári, the maps give a place called Mogulmurri [Mughulmári], evidently the scene of a fight with Mughul troops. Another Mughulmári lies between Bardwán and Jahánábád; a third between Medinípúr and Jalesar, where Akbar's troops defeated Dáúd Sháh (Aúa translation, p. 376); and a fourth, eight miles north of Medinípúr.

† Thánah Sangrámgárh, one of Aurangzib's frontier thánahs near Noák'háli, had received the same name in allusion to the title of the emperor.

‡ 'Álamgírnámah, pp. 850, 875. Maásir i 'Álamgírí, pp. 64, 150.

Blaev's Map of Bengal and of the Mughul Empire.

The map of Upper India by William and John Blaev (Pl. IV) is taken from their "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," Amsterdam, 1645 to 1650, Vol. II,* and is based upon the Portuguese and Dutch charts that existed at the time, and upon the descriptions of European travellers. As far as Bengal is concerned, it is a reprint of De Barros' map, and represents, therefore, the knowledge which European geographers had of Bengal about 1540. In point of accuracy it is much inferior to Van den Broucke's map of 1660,† given in Valentyn's work. But the map is of great interest, as it helps us to unravel the difficulties in Terry's enumeration of the provinces of Bengal and other portions of the Dihlî empire,‡ which has also been followed by the Dutch traveller De Laët in his "India Vera" (Amsterdam, 1631), and of which traces may still be found on Van den Broucke's map. It is with a view to explain the extraordinary configuration of Bengal on the old maps that I have given the present chapter a place in this essay.

From a glance at the map, it will be seen that our early geographers had no information of the extent and situation of the countries which we now-a-days call the Central Provinces and Chutiâ Nâgpûr. Hence Gwâliâr, Narwar, and (on Van den Broucke's map) Málwâ, bound Bengal on the west; the Santál mountains are continued eastwards to meet the Asám mountain-chains, and places belonging to the Central Provinces have been put north of Bengal.

Terry enumerates the following provinces as belonging to the Mughul empire—1. *Candahore*, Qandahár; 2. *Cabul*; 3. *Multan*; 4. *Haiacan*, Hájikán, a sirkár of Sindh; 5. *Buckor*, Bhakkar; 6. *Tatta*; 7. *Soret with Jonagar*, Sorat'h with Júnágâr; 8. *Jesselmeere*; 9. *Attok*; 10. *Peniab*, Panjáb; 11. *Chishmeere*, Kashmír; 12. *Banchish*, "the chief city is called *Bishur*; it lyeth east, somewhat southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the River Indus." Here we have the first misplacement. Terry means Bangash and Bajor (Sawâd, Swat); but for *East*, he should have said *West*.

* Capt. J. Waterhouse drew my attention to a copy of this work in the Library of the As. Society.

† Matthews Van den Broucke was Land-Voogd, or governor, of Choromandel, which included Bengal, from 1658 to 1664, during which time he compiled the map in the Vth Volume of the 'Beschryvving van Choromandel' in François Valentyn's 'Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien', Amsterdam, 1728. (Library, As. Soc. Bengal, No. 2266.)

‡ Edward Terry was chaplain to Sir Thomas Row, the Ambassador to Jahângîr's Court, and was later Rector of the Church at Greenford, Middlesex. He presented his 'Voyage to East India,' in 1622, shortly after his return to England, to the then Prince of Wales; but he only published it in 1655, when he was sixty-four years old.

13. *Jangapore*, “the chief city so called ; it lieth upon the River *Kaul*, one of those five rivers which water Peniab.” (?) De Laët has ‘*Jengapor or Jenupar*’ between Lahore and Agra. 14. *Jenba*, east of Peniab, Chamba. 15. *Dellec*,* Dihlî. 16. *Bando*; ‘it confineth Agra to the west.’ This is Bândhû, or Bândlûgâr, south-east of Agrah. 17. *Malwa*; 18. *Chitor*; 19. *Gujarat*; 20. *Chandis*, Khândesh; 21. *Berar*, with the chief city *Shapore*;† 22. *Narwar*; 23. *Gwaliar*; 24. *Agra*; 25. *Sambal*, Sambhal, or Murâdâbâd District. 26. “*Bakar*, the chief city called Bikaneer, it lyeth on the west side of the River Ganges.” The whole remark seems to be erroneous. 27. *Nugracot*, Nagarkot or Kângrah. 28. *Siba*, “the chief city is called *Hardware*.‡” 29. *Kakares*, the principal cities are called *Dekalee* and *Pûrholâ*.” Terry means the Gakk’har District, the chief cities of which were Dângâli and Pharwâlah; *vide* Aín translation, p. 621. Terry also remarks that the Caucasus (Himâlaya) divides Kakares from Tartaria, which accounts for its northern position on Blaev’s map. 30. *Gor*, “the chief city so called ; it is full of mountains ; the River *Sersily*, a tributary unto *Ganges*, has its beginning in it.” *Vide* 32.

31. *Pitan*, “the chief city so called ; the River *Canda* waters it, and falls into the *Ganges* in the confines thereof.” This is Paiñhán, the form used by Abulfazl for Pañhán, or Pañhánkot. Terry evidently means the whole hill tract of the Sirmûr range, as far as the Alaknanda. It is, however, possible that he meant the Markandâ ; but this river does not flow into the Ganges. The error in the position of Pitan is remarkable, as Terry, DeLaët, and Blaev give Temmery (a Dutch spelling for Dhamerí, the old name of Núrpûr, near Pañhánkot) between the Ráví and Nagarkot (Kângrah).

32. *Kanduana*, “the chief city is called *Karhakatenka* ; the River *Sersily* parts it from Pitan. This and Gor are the north-east bounds of this Monarchy.” There can be no doubt that Kanduana is Gondwânah (Central Provinces), of which the capital is Garha-Katanga (Jabalpûr); *vide* Aín translation, p. 367. If Gor is the north-east boundary of the empire, it is the *Gaur* of Silhat, mentioned above, or the Gáro Hills. Sersily is a misprint for Sersity, the Saraswatî, which after the Jamunâ is the principal (legendary)

* “Which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul’s territories.” Terry. This unfortunate etymology shows however that Terry knew some Persian, because he cleverly disposes of the final *yâ*. Similarly, he derives ‘Khusrau,’ from خوش and ور ; and ‘Sultân Khurram’ from سلطان *karam*, liberality !

† Shâhpûr, built by Sultân Murâd, Akbar’s son, six *kos* south of Bâlapûr, now in ruins.

‡ I do not know whether the country near Haridwâr was ever called Sibâ. In the Aín, a parganah of the Bisat Jâlandhar Dúib is called Sibâh.

tributary of the Ganges. The map follows the legend and makes the Saraswati flow into the Ganges near Helobass (Iláhbás, the old name of Iláhbád).* De Laët increases the confusion by calling the Sersily 'Perselis.' But the passage need no longer exercise commentators. Blaeu's map clearly shows how erroneously the early geographers arranged the provinces.

33. *Patna*, "the chief city so called ; the River Ganges bounds it on the west ; Sersily on the east ; it is a very fertile Province."

34. *Jesual*, "the chief city is called Raiapore ; it lieth east of *Patna*." Van den Broucke puts Jesual east of Morang ; and Blaeu's map marks it as a country for elephants. It seems, therefore, that Ráipúr in the Central Provinces is meant, the elephant country *par excellence*, though the name 'Jesual' is not clear to me.

35. *Mevat*, "the chief city is called *Narnol* ; it is very mountainous." This is Mewát, south-west of Dihlí, with Nárnoł. I am at a loss to understand how Mewát could have been placed so far away from Dihlí ; but Blaeu's map shows why Terry and De Laët mention it here. The error was not even detected by Van den Broucke, who places 'T Ryk van Mewat east of the Brahmaputra, south of 'Cos Assam.'†

36. *Udessa*, "the chief city called *Jekanat* ; it is the most remote part east of this empire." De Laët says : It is the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Maug kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians." DeBarros and Blaeu have avoided this mistake ; Van den Broucke, however, places 'T Ryk van Udesse north of Bollua (Bhaluah), between Tiparah and the Brahmaputra. But Orísá and Jagannáth are meant. The spelling Udessa is clearly a transliteration of اویسا، Udesá, and DeLaët has overlooked the identity of 'Orisa' and 'Udessa.'

37. *Bengala*.

It would take me too far from my subject, were I to enter on the identification of the places in western India on Blaeu's map. I hope to do so at a future period, or would rather leave the task to Mr. E. Lethbridge, who has lately published valuable extracts from De Laët's work in the Calcutta Review.

* According to the legend, the Saraswati, which is lost in the sand east of Bhadrinda District, joins the Ganges below the ground at Iláhbád. Hence at Triboni and other places in Bengal, wherever two rivers leave the Ganges, we find the names Saraswati and Jamuná repeated.

† The London edition of 1655 has 'Jesuat.' De Laët has "Jesual, whose metropolis is Raiapore or Ragapore, lies to the east of Patna, and north-west of Bengala."

‡ Asám is often called Koch Ásám.

PART II.—HISTORICAL.

The Muhammadan period of the history of Bengal may be conveniently divided into five parts—

I. The 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the governors of Lak'hnauti appointed by the Dihlí sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí, A. D. 1203 to 1338 A. D.

II. The period of the independent kings of Bengal, from 1338 to 1538.

III. The period of the kings of Sher Sháh's family and their Afghán successors, from 1538 to 1576.

IV. The Mughul period, from 1576 to 1740.

V. The Nawábí period, from the accession of 'Alí Virdí Khán, in 1740, to the transfer of Bengal to the E. I. Company.

In the following pages, I shall principally treat of the first and second periods.

I.

THE INITIAL PERIOD (1203 TO 1338, A. D.)

The first period has been almost exhaustively described by Mr. E. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal,' published in the Journal for 1867, in which he details the results of his examination of selections made from 13,500 pieces of silver, accidentally found in Koch Bihár in August, 1863. I can, therefore, with regard to this period, merely give a few interesting inscriptions which have since turned up, and note a few coins—second gleanings from the Koch Bihár *trouvaillé*—which are in the Society's cabinet.

Of the following inscriptions belonging to the Initial Period, one was received from General Cunningham, and the others from Mr. Broadley, who handed over to the Society in all twenty-two rubbings, which I have deciphered and translated. The original stones are either attached to old public buildings in the town of Bihár, or are preserved in the Museum of that place.*

No. 1. *The Tughril Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

امر ببناء هذه العمارة في أيام مملكة المجلس العالى خان "الاعظم
خاقان المعظّم عزّ الحق و الدّين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين مغيث الملوك
والسلطانين ابى الفتح طغل السلطاني خلد الله ملكه العبد مبارك خان
الخان تقبيل الله منه فى المحرم سنة اربعين و ستمائة ||

* Together with the rubbings, Mr. Broadley made over to the Society readings of several early Muhammadan coins of importance, and also a few notes on the Muhammadan buildings of the town of Bihár. The coins have since passed into the collection of Col. Guthrie, and have been published by Mr. E. Thomas in his 'Second Part of the Initial Coinage of Bengal' (about to be reproduced in this Journal). The "notes"

This building was ordered to be erected during the days of the reign of the Majlis i 'Alí, the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, 'Izzul haq waddín, the help of Islám and the Muslims, the helper of princes and kings, A bul Fath Tughril, the Royal, may God perpetuate his reign! The slave, Mubárik Khán, the Treasurer,—may God grant acceptance!

In the month of Muhamarram, 640, [July, 1242, A.D.]

The inscription is a large slab of basalt, and is at present in the Bihár Museum. It was found let into brick work on the north side of the great Dargáh, to protect the doorway from rain. A photozincograph of it was published by me in this Journal for 1871, Pt. I, Pl. vii.

It is of interest to remark that South Bihár was under the Lak'hnauti governors from Bakhtyár Khilji's time.

Tughril in 631 (A. D. 1233-34) succeeded Saifuddín Aibak as governor of Lak'hnauti, in which office he continued till the 5th Zí Qa'dah 642 (or 4th April, 1245), on which day he was forced to cede his office to Qamaruddín Timur Khán. Tughril was appointed to Audh; and Timur Khán remained in Lak'hnauti till 29th Shawwál, 644, (or 9th March, 1247) on which day both he and Tughril died.*

The following are the governors of Bengal from Saifuddín Aibak to Bughrá Khán. The dates differ slightly from Mr. Thomas's list on p. 8 of his 'Chronicles.'

Saifuddín Aibak. Dies at Lak'hnauti in 631. *Tabq.*, p. 239.

'Izzuddín Abul Fath Tughril Tughán Khán, governor from 631 to 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642. *Tabq.*, p. 245. He withdraws to Audh, and dies on the 29th Shawwál, 644.

Qamaruddín Timur Khán, governor from 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642, to 29th Shawwál, 644, when he, too, dies. *Tabq.*, p. 246.

Ikhtiyáruddín Yúzbak Tughril Khán, proclaims himself king under the title of Sultán Mughísuiddín. Perishes in Kámrúp. *Tabq.*, p. 263. No dates are given.

Jaláluddín Mas'úd, Malik Jání Khiljí Khán, becomes governor on the 18th Zí Qa'dah, 656 (or 17th Nov., 1258). *Tabq.*, pp. 206, 225.

'Izzuddín Balban, was governor in 657, in which year he was attacked by Tájuddín Arsalán Khán Sanjar i Khwárazmí, who, however, was captured or killed by 'Izzuddín. *Tabq.*, p. 267.†

are of little value, and are moreover incomplete, so that I can only give my readings and translations of the Bihár inscriptions. They are marked 'B. C.' (Bihár Collection.)

* *Tabaqát i Náçirí*, pp. 245, 246, where Tughril is called Tughril Tughán Khán. Hence the *tárikh* on p. 246 is wrong, and for *sín* we have to read *mán*. 'Tughril' signifies a kind of falcon or hawk, and *tughril shudan*, like *shunqár shudan*, means 'to die.' 'Shunqár' also is a kind of falcon.

† Hence Tájuddín Arsalán Khán should not be put among the governors of Bengal.

Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, son of Arsalán Khán Sanjar. He had been for some time governor, when the emperor Balban ascended the throne (664). *Baraní*, p. 66. After a few years he was succeeded by

Tughril, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Sultán Mughíṣuddín. His fate has been mentioned above. No dates are given.

Bughrá Khán, Náçiruddín Mahmúd, second son of emperor Balban.

No. 2. *The Bárahdarí Inscription of Bihár*. [B. C.]

This inscription also belongs to the time of the early governors of Bengal; but unfortunately the first half with the name of the governor is wanting. Its date however, A. H. 663, shews that it belongs to the time of Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, governor of Bengal in the end of the reign of Náçiruddín Mahmúd of Dihli. The inscription was found in the yard facing the shrine of Sháh Fazlullah, Bárahdarí Mahallah, Bihár.

* * الله و امارته و ابقى في ديار الممالك عمارته ببناء هذه المقبرة المقبرة شهر سنة
 * * العدل الرقة المخصوص بعناية الرحمن * * سلطان شاه نور الهم ترثة و
 يبعض غرته و يجعل قبوره روضة من رياض الجنان و لا تجعل حفرة من حفر النيران
 في ليلة الاحد الدامن عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة ثلاثة و ستين و ستمائة و المعمار
 عبدهما المؤمنون بانعامهما مسجد الكابلي ॥

* * may God (perpetuate) his rule and governorship, and may He cause his edifice to remain in the realm * * by the erection of this blessed tomb in the months of the year * * Sultán Sháh, (O God, illuminate his grave, and whiten his forehead, and make his grave a garden of the gardens of Paradise, but do not make it a pit of the pits of fire!). On Saturday evening, the 18th Jumáda I, 663. The architect is their slave, who is obliged by their rewards, Majd of Kábúl. [8th March, 1265.]

No. 3. *The Kai Káús Inscription of Kagol*. Pl. V, Nos. 1 and 2.

A rubbing of this inscription was received from General Cunningham. Its date is, curious to say, the same as that of the Kai Káús inscription of Gangarámpúr, published by me in the Journal, for 1872, p. 103. Mr. Thomas has published coins of this king, bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 (Chronicles, p. 149), and the cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal contains two clear specimens of 691, and 696 (Lak'hnautí mint).

The inscription is—

وقو (٤) لبناء هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد الدولة السلطان المعظم
 مالك رقاب الامم موالي ملوك الترك والغجم صاحب الشّاج والخاتم
 ركن الدّنيا * * س شاه السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان يمين خليفة
 الله ناصر امير المؤمنين في فتوت الخان الاعظم خاقان المعظم اختيار
 الحق والدين خان خان الشرق والصين سكender the الثاني قيروز ايتينگين السّلطان

* The text has a dual.

خَلَدَ اللَّهُ دُولَتُهُ * * * * المَظْفُرُ الْمَذْصُورُ الْغَازِيُّ ضِيَاءُ الدُّوَلَةِ وَالدِّينِ
الْغَ خَانُ ادَمُ اللَّهُ دُولَتُهُ وَزَادَ خَيْرَهُ فِي الْعَرَةِ مِنَ الْمُحَرَّمِ سَنَةُ سَبْعَ
وَتَسْعِينَ وَسَنْتَمِائَةٍ ॥

This Jámí' Mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultán, the owner of the necks of nations, the master of the princes of the Turks and the Persians, the lord of the crown and the signet, Ruknuddunyá waddín [Kai Káú] s Sháh, the king, son of a king who was the son of a king, the right hand of God's Viceregent, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, and during the governorship of the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, Ikhtiyár ul haq waddín, the Khán of the Kháns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Fíruz Aitigín Sultán, (may God perpetuate his rule!) **[by] the victorious, the invincible, the champion, Ziyáuddaulah waddín Ulugh Khán, may God perpetuate his rule and increase his benefits! On the 1st day of Muharram, of the year 697. [19th October, 1297]*

* This inscription contains what Mr. Thomas calls an unusual reiteration of the words *ibnu sultanin ibni sultán*, which is perhaps more unusual on coins than on inscriptions. But the spirit of pride that breathes in the words is apparent, when we compare with it the legend of the coins struck in Tírth by the rebel Bahádúr, given in Badáoni II, p. 298.

In Raziyah's Bengal coinage (Thomas, Chronicles, p. 107), I read for صهرة, which has no sense, ممددة, *mumiddatu*, 'the helper,' the same as ناصرة. 'Raziyah' stands for 'Raziyat unnisá,' i. e. one who among women is looked upon with favour.

I also take this opportunity to give my reading of the Náciruddín Mahmúd Inscription, published by Mr. Thomas in his Chronicles, p. 129, an inscription which in style is similar to the above Kai Káús inscription. General Cunningham has favored the Society with a rubbing of it.

[بني] هذة العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ناصر
الدنيا والدين سلطان السلاطين ذي الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان
صاحب الخاتم في ملك العالم اي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و
سلطانه باسم الملك العالم الكبير اعظم قتلغان بنها الحق والدين ملك ملوك
الشرق والصين بلدن الشمسي في ايام اياته دامت معاليه في العاشر من رجب
سنة اثنى وخمسين و سنتمائة ॥

'This building was erected during the reign of the great Sultán, the owner of the necks of nations, Náciruddunyá waddín, the king of kings, who protects the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, the lord of the signet in the kingdom of the world, Abú Muzaaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the son of the king (may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!), by order of the learned and great Malik, A'zam Qutlugh Khán Baháulhaq waddín, the Malik of the Maliks of the Eastern Provinces and China, Balban the Shamsí [slavo of Shamsuddín Iltutmish], during the period of his governorship, may his high qualities endure! On the 10th Rajab, 652.'

From this it will be seen that A'zam Qutlugh Khán (Balban) does not call himself *Malik ul 'Alam* 'the Malik of the world,' but *almalik ul 'álím*, 'the learned Malik.'

The reading of the name 'Aitigín' or 'beautiful moon,' in this inscription was suggested by Mr. Redhouse, and I gladly correct my reading Itgín in the Kai Káús inscription, published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 103, where the correct name of the builder is Zafar Khán Bahrám Aitigín, the Royal (*sultání*).*

The date of this inscription is the latest yet discovered of Kai Káús's reign.

Kai Káús seems to have been succeeded by his brother Shamsuddín Firúz Sháh (I). Mr. Thomas quotes coins of this king, dated 702, 715, 720, 722, and the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has three specimens, struck at Lak'hnauti, with clear dates 706 and 715, and (slightly doubtful) 710.

Three inscriptions of Firúz Sháh have hitherto been found, of which one, dated 1st Muhamarram, 713, or 28th April, 1313, was published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Part I, p. 287.† The other two inscriptions are from Bihár, and are dated 709 and 715. They reveal that Firúz Sháh had a son Hátim Khán,‡ who in those two years, and probably in the interval, was governor of Bihár.

No. 5. *The Firúz Sháh (I) Inscription of Bihár.* [B.C.]

بني هذه العمارة المزينة (؟) في عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدّنيا
والدّين ابى المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلّد الله ملکه وسلطانه ونوبية ایالة
الخان العادل الباذل الغانى * الحق حاتم خان ابن السلطان خلّد ملکه
وسلطانه العبد الضعيف محمد حسین تکھروری في شهر سده تسع وسبعمائة ||

This (additional?) building was erected in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsundunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh, the king, (may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!) and during the governorship of the just and liberal Khán, the champion of God, ** Hátim Khán, the son of the king, may God perpetuate his rule! The weak slave Muhammad Husain Tak'harorí. During the months of the year 709. [A. D., 1309.]

A plate of this inscription was published in this Journal, for 1871, Part I, Pl. viii. The inscription itself is attached to a lofty gateway, which together with an arched hall, fast falling to decay, and a roofless mosque, forms the remains of what tradition calls Hátim Khán's palace. It stands on a gentle eminence, due east of the Bihár mountain.

* Or, we might at once translate, 'the Sultán'; for *sultání*, as abstract noun, occurs on numerous coins; *vide* Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for June, 1870, p. 152. The translation of the other portions of the inscription is here confirmed.

† Where in the third line for *الاکرام* *read* الکرم.

‡ Besides the four sons mentioned by Mr. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 148.

بَنِي هَذَا الْمَسْجِد فِي نُوبَةِ السُّلْطَان الْأَعْظَم شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَالَّذِينَ ابْوَالْمَظْفَرِ
فِيرُوزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَان وَإِيَّامِ امْرَأَةِ خَاقَانِ الرَّمَانِ الْمُخَاطِب بِحَاتَمِ خَانِ ادَمِ اللَّهِ
ظَلَالِهِمَا الْعَبْدُ الْوَاثِقُ بِاللَّهِ وَلِكَرْمِهِ الرَّاحِي احْقَرُ الْخَلَقِ بَهْرَامُ بْنُ حَاجِي
تَابُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ غَفَرَ لِوَالِدِيهِ فِي الْعَرَةِ مِنْ رَجَبِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ عَشْرَةً
وَسَبْعِمِائَةِ ۖ ۝

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsuddín Ábú'l Mu'azzaf Firúz Sháh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khágán of the age, known as Hátim Khán, may God cause their shadows to last! The slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of mankind, Bahrám, son of Hájí, may God turn to him and may He pardon his parents!

On the first day of the month of Rajab of the year 715. [1st October, 1315.]

This inscription, a fine slab of basalt, leans against the wall of the Chhotá Dargáh in Bihár.

Two other sons of Firúz Sháh, Shihábuddín Bughdah Sháh and the well known Ghiyásuddín Bahádur Sháh, struck coins as ‘kings of Bengal’ during the lifetime of their father. Of the former, Mr. Thomas says (Chronicles, p. 191)—“Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to, indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shihábuddín Bughdah Sháh. No date or place of mintage is preserved.” However, the cabinet of the Asiatic Society possesses two specimens,* one of the same kind as published by Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, Pl. VI, No. 4), and a new variety, containing the same legend, but with the letters, on the obverse, close together, and with a — instead of the star on the reverse. The former fortunately contains a complete margin, with the clear legend—

ضُرُبَ هَذَا الْفَضَةُ بِلَكْهُنْتِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانِ عَشْرَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ

This silver coin was struck at Lakhnauti in the year 718.

Mr. Thomas looks upon the *d* in the name of this king as the Hindí *s*, which is so often interchanged with *ṣ* *re*. This may be the case, inasmuch as Shiháb, according to Muhammadan custom, would assume the name of his grandfather, بَغْرَا, *bughrá*;† but in India, people seem early to have substituted a *dál* for the *re*; hence we find in the Aín the form بَغْدِي, *bughdí*.‡

Ghiyásuddín Bahádur Sháh was the last of the Balbaní kings of Bengal. “In A.H. 733, Muhammad ibn i Tughluq is found issuing his own coin in

* Evidently Bábú Rájendralála Mitra’s selections from the Koch Bihár hoard.

† Which signifies a male ‘Bactrian camel’ (with two humps). The spellings given in dictionaries are بَوْغُور - بَغُور - بَغْرَ - بَغْرَا - بَوْغَرَا.

‡ *Vide my Aín translation, p. 143.*

Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the province and the empire.”* And already the year before, we find that a palace had been built, or renovated, in Bihár for the Imperial *Náib*, which tradition still calls the ‘sukúnat,’ or residency.

No. 7. *The Sukúnat Inscription of Bihár. [B.C.]*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
شَدَّ تَجْدِيدِ عَمَارتِ اَيْنِ دَرْوازَةِ عَالِيِّ عَالَمَ آرَایِ وَ اَيْنِ طَاقِ رَفِيعِ فُلْكِ سَايِ در ایام
خَلْفَتِ خَلِيقَةَ جَهَانِپَهَا اَسْمَانِ بَارگَاهِ خَدَائِيْگَانِ سَلَطِينِ کَیهَانِ فَرْمَانِ فَرمَانِ عَالَمَيَانِ
ذَى الْاَمْنِ وَ الْاِيمَانِ لِاَهْلِ الْاِيمَانِ وَارِثِ مَلْكِ سَلِيمَانِ اَبُو الْمُجَاهِدِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ
تَقْلِيقَشَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَتِ خَلَافَةَ وَسُلْطَانَهُ فِي الغَرَّةِ مِنَ الشَّهْرِ الْمَبارِكِ رَمَضَانِ سَنَةَ
اثْنَيْ وَتَلَاثَتِينِ وَ سَبْعَمِائَةِ ۝

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico, were renewed in the reign of the Khalífah, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the Lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, Abú al Mujaahid Muhammád, son of Tughluq Sháh, the Sultán, (may his kingdom and rule be perpetuated!). On the first day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 732, A. H. [27th May, 1332].

From this time till the beginning of the 10th century, Southern Bihár as remarked above, remained detached from Bengal, and followed the fortunes of the empires of Dihlí and of Jaunpúr.

Muhammad Tughluq's governors of Lak'hinautí, Sátgáon, and Sunnár-gáon did not long remain undisturbed, and the death of Bahrám Khán, governor of the last province, was the commencement of new revolutions, which led to the establishment of a line of independent kings.

II.

THE SECOND PERIOD, OR THE PERIOD OF THE INDEPENDENT KINGS OF BENGAL (1338 TO 1538, A.D.)

For this period I shall take the kings singly, and collect for each reign whatever new information I have been able to gather from the rubbings received from General Cunningham, Dr. J. Wise, and Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and from unpublished Bengal coins in the Society's cabinet.

I have also compared the corresponding chapter of the *Riyázussalátiń* with the statements given in the *Tabaqát i Akbari* and in *Firishtah*.

The line of the independent kings commences with

* Thomas, Chronicles, p. 200.

I. Fakhruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Muba'rak Sha'h.

He had been *Siláhdár*, or armour-bearer, to Bahrám Khán, the Dihlí governor of Sunnárgáoñ, and on his master's death in 739 A. H., or 1338 A.D., proclaimed there his independence.

According to the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, Firishtah, and the *Riyáz ussalátín*, Mubárak Sháh was killed by 'Alí Mubárak in 741, after a reign of two years and some months.* But as his coins extend over a period of more than ten years, from 739 to 750, it looks as if the date given in the histories should be corrected to *عَمَانْ وَعِنْدَ مَا*, 'ten years and some months.' Mr. Thomas is willing to antedate Mubárak Sháh's accession to 737; but the coins (Chronicles, p. 263, and Plate vi, fig. 7) do not satisfactorily prove this, because the reading *عَمَانْ*, in the absence of diacritical marks, is more likely *عَسْعَ*, which the histories give, especially because the numerous coins hitherto found do not give the intervening year (738).

The name 'Mubárak Sháh' has been proved by coins, the histories only call him Sultán Fakhruddín or more familiarly still, Fakhrá.† Ibn Ba'túlah also mentions him under the name of Fakhruddín, and says that he was an eminent man, kind to strangers and Qúfís.‡

Mubárak Sháh's son is mentioned below. His son-in-law Zasar Khán fled from Sunnárgáoñ over Tattah to Fírúz Sháh in Dihlí, who, at his request, invaded Bengal a second time in the beginning of Sikandar Sháh's reign.§

II. 'Ala'uddi'n Abul Muzaffar 'Ali' Sha'h.

Regarding this king the *Riyáz ussalátín* has the following :

'It is said that Malik 'Alí Mubárak, who as king is styled Sultán 'Aláuddín, was a trusted servant of Malik Fírúz [subsequently Fírúz Sháh III. of Dihlí], and Malik Fírúz was brother's son to Sultán Ghiyásuddín Tughluq Sháh, and son of the paternal uncle of Muhammad Sháh. Muhammad Sháh, in the first year of his reign, made Malik Fírúz his Náib-Bárbak. Now at this time, Hájí Ilyás, the foster-brother of 'Alí Mubárak, did something wicked and fled from Dihlí. Malik Fírúz asked 'Alí Mubárak what had become of Hájí Ilyás. 'Alí Mubárak went in search of him; and when he found no trace of him, he told Malik Fírúz that Hájí Ilyás had run away. Fírúz scolded him and told him to leave his presence. 'Alí

* The *Riyáz* has five months. Stewart places his death in 743; but all histories have 741.

† Dowson, Elliot's History, III, p. 304.

‡ See Ibn Ba'túlah, p. 195.

§ These facts are only mentioned by *Shamsa i Siráj*, who moreover places Fakhruddín's defeat and death immediately after Fírúz Sháh's first invasion of Bengal in 754. This is clearly a few years too late.

Mubárik now went to Bengal. On his way, one night, he had a dream and saw the revered saint Jaláluddín Tabrizí, who said to him, "I will give thee the kingdom of Bengal; but thou wilt have to build me a vault." 'Alí Mubárik put the finger of acceptance on his eye, and asked where it was to be built. The saint replied, "In the town of Panđuah at a place where thou wilt see thirty bricks one over another, and below them a fresh rose of a hundred petals."

'When 'Alí Mubárik arrived in Bengal, he entered the service of Qadar Khán, [the Imperial governor of Lak'hnautí] and received from him the command (*bakhshigarí*) of the army. But when Fakhruddín revolted against Qadar Khán, 'Alí Mubárik killed his benefactor, and proclaimed himself king under the title of Sultán 'Aláuddín. He then made war upon Fakhruddín, and slew him "as a punishment for having killed his benefactor." Leaving thanahs in (the province of) Lak'hnautí, 'Aláuddín marched to subjugate other parts of Bengal. But from the time he had proclaimed himself king, the whirlpool of pleasure had made him forgetful of his promise to the Saint, when one night Jaláluddín again appeared to him and said, "O Sultán 'Aláuddín, thou art now king of Bengal, but me thou hast forgotten." The king next day at once searched for the bricks, and found them just as the saint had described. There he built the vault, the ruins of which exist to this day.

'Now about this time Hájí Ilyás also arrived in Panđuah. Sultán 'Aláuddín put him into prison, but after some time, at the request of his mother who had been Sultán 'Aláuddín's nurse, he set him at liberty, and allowed him to come to court. Hájí Ilyás, in a short time, found means to gain over the army, killed 'Aláuddín with the help of the eunuch, and proclaimed himself king under the name of Shamsuddín Bhangrah.

'The reign of Sultán 'Aláuddín lasted one year and five months.'

This extract is so far satisfactory, as it explains the relation between Fírúz Sháh, 'Alí Mubárik, and Hájí Ilyás.

The evidence of coins, as in the case of the preceding king, gives 'Aláuddín 'Alí Sháh a longer reign than the histories. Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 265) gives a coin of the year 742, and he adds that he has seen coins of 744, 745, 746. There is nothing strange in the name '*'Alí Mubárik*', which he thinks has arisen from "a strange jumble of Muhammadan writers, who endowed 'Alí Sháh with the surname of his adversary Mubárik Sháh;" for 'Alí Mubárik is as common a name as Mubárik 'Alí, and the histories say that this was 'Alí Sháh's name before accession.

From the fact that the coinage of Mubárik Sháh is restricted to the Sunnárgáoq mint, and that of 'Alí Sháh to Fírúzábád (*i. e.* Panđuah), we may conclude that the former held Eastern, and the latter Western Bengal.

But 'Alí Sháh was vigorously opposed by Hájí Ilyás, who struck coins

in Panḍuah, 'Alí Sháh's capital, in 740 and 744, and in uninterrupted succession from 746 (probably the correct year when 'Alí Sháh was overcome by him) to 758.

III. Ikhtiya'r-ruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Gha'zi' Sha'h.

Fakhruddín Mubárak Sháh was succeeded in Eastern Bengal by Ikhtiyár-ruddi'n, who styles himself "son of the Sultán." We may, therefore, accept Mr. Thomas's hypothesis that he was the son of Mubárak Sháh. Coins are the only testimony on which the name of this king of Eastern Bengal has found a place in the list of kings. The figure of one of the coins given by Mr. Thomas, as also the specimen in the cabinet of the Bengal Asiatic Society, shew the year 753.*

IV. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Ilyás Sha'h.

The relation of this king to 'Aláuddín 'Alí Sháh and Fírúz Sháh III. of Dihlí has been mentioned above. Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, he established himself, in 753, in Sunnárgáon (Thomas, p. 269), and thus founded a dynasty, which, with an interruption of about forty years in the beginning of the 9th century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 896 A.H.

Ilyás Sháh's successes in Eastern Bengal were followed by an attempt to extend the western boundaries of the kingdom, and according to the *Riyáz* he pushed as far as the Banáras district. In order to punish him, Fírúz Sháh, in 754, after marching through Tírhut and Púrniah, invaded Bengal and besieged Ekdálah. The defeat of Ilyás Sháh is almost humorously described by Ziyá i Baráni. But "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country," and Fírúz Sháh withdrew,† appointing collectors, apparently

* Thomas, *Chronicles*, Pl. VI, fig. 9. The margin clearly gives ፳፻. A figure with ፲፻ would be desirable, so that the reign of this king might be fixed from 751 to 753.

† It is said in the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, under Ilyás Sháh, that Fírúz Sháh's expedition lasted from the 10th Shawwal, 754, till 11th Rabí' I, 755. As the latter date corresponds to the 5th April 1354, it could only have been prospect of the rains, not the setting in of that season, that drove Fírúz Sháh back to Dihlí. The army, according to Baráni, complained of mosquitos in the vicinity of Panḍuah.

The 'Fírúzpúrábád,' mentioned by Stewart and quoted by Mr. Thomas (p. 264, note 2), where Fírúz Sháh pitched his camp, should be 'Fírúzpár.' The *Riyáz* says—"At a place where now Fírúzpúr lies (*bajáe kih alyam Fírúzpúr ábálast*, not *Fírúzpúrábád ast*), Fírúz Sháh pitched his camp, and starting from that place on horseback laid siege to the fort of Panḍuah. In the fort Sultán Shamsuddín had left his son, whilst he himself had retreated to Fort Ekdálah, which is very strong." The maps show several Fírúzpúrs round about Gaur; thus two are south of the fort of Gaur.

for the first time, in Tírhut, and was glad in subsequent years to exchange presents with Ilyás Sháh.

As Hájí Ilyás is the legendary founder of Háijpúr, opposite Pañna, we may assume that in northern Bihár the Ghandak formed the frontier; in south Bihár, however, the frontier could not have passed beyond Munger, because the inscriptions preserved in the town of Bihár (*vide* below) shew that in 732, 737, 753, 761, 792, and 799, the town of Bihár was under Dihlí governors.

Just as Mubárik Sháh and 'Alí Sháh are called in the histories by their first name, so is Ilyás Sháh also invariably called Sultán Shamsuddín. The name 'Ilyas Khaje,' which Stewart gives, is not to be found in historical works. Stewart also mentions 760 as the year in which Ilyás died, but the histories only mention that his reign lasted sixteen years and some months. In 758, he had for the third time sent ambassadors with presents to Dihlí, and Firúz returned the compliment by sending him horses; but the Dihlí ambassadors on reaching Bihár heard that Ilyás had in the meantime died. The latest of Mr. Thomas's coins of Ilyás Sháh also bear the year 758.*

Ilyás Sháh is nicknamed 'Bhangrah,' a corruption, it seems, of the Hindústání *bhangérá*, 'a seller, or eater, of the drug *bháng* (hemp).' Firish-tah says that he does not know the origin of the word; but Ziyá i Baraní evidently knew more about it; for he says, rejoicing in his joke,—“And the well known Bengal Páiks, who for years had borne the name of ‘the Bengal Ancients’ or ‘the Dead,’ had taken a quid from Ilyás the Bháng-eater, in order to shew that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for him; and standing in front of the train of that wild maniac, together with the mouldy-looking Bangálí Rájahs, they bravely threw about their arms and legs; but as soon as the battle commenced, they put from fear their fingers into their mouths, gave up standing to attention, threw away swords and arrows, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were consumed by the swords of the enemies.” A graphic description, by the way, of the Bengal Military Police in 1353, A. D.

No inscriptions have hitherto turned up that mention Ilyás Sháh; nor does the author of the Riyáz, who had a good personal knowledge of the ruins of Gaur and Panḍuah, speak of any buildings erected by him. He only says—‘It is said that Sultán Shamsuddín made in Bengal a reservoir in imitation of Hauz i Shamsí at Dihlí.’

* Reinaud, however, quoted by Marsden (p. 566, note) mentions two Sunnárgáon coins of 754 and 760. The MS. of the Riyáz belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal mentions 758 as the year in which the last ambassadors left for Dihlí; Stewart has 759; and the Tabaqát and Firish-tah, who copies from it, have ‘in the end of 759.’ The earliest coin of Sikandar figured by Mr. Thomas (Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal, 1867, Part I, p. 63, and Pl. II, No. 12) belongs to 761.

Regarding the coinage of Ilyás Sháh, *vide* Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1867, pp. 57, 58.

V. Abul Muja'hid Sikandar Sha'h.

Ilyás Sháh was succeeded by his eldest son Sikandar Sháh. The beginning of his reign was marked by a second attempt* made by Firúz Sháh to annex Bengal; but as in the first, Ekdálah held out, and Firúz returned to Dihli, and never again interfered in Bengal matters.

'In 766,' says the Riyáz,† 'Sikandar commenced to build the Adínah [i. e. Friday] Mosque; but he had not finished it when he died, and the building remained half completed, and now-a-days parts of the edifice may be seen in the jungle near Panḍuah, about a *kos* from it. I have seen it myself: it is, indeed, a fine mosque and must have cost a great deal of money. May Sikandar's efforts be thankfully remembered!'

According to the same author, Sikandar Sháh died after a reign of nine years and some months—a statement also given in the Tabaqát—of wounds which he had received 'on the field of Goálpárah,' fighting with his favourite son Ghiyás, whom the machinations of a jealous step-mother had driven into rebellion.‡

'Sikandar was the contemporary of the revered saint 'Alául Haq.'

Several inscriptions belonging to Sikandar's reign have been found. One of the year 765, from Dínájpúr, was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 105. I remarked there on the beauty of its characters;§ but the inscriptions inside and outside the Adínah Mosque, rubbings of which the Society owes to General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley, are the finest that I have seen. The characters are beautiful, and the rubbings have created sensation wherever I have shewn them. The inscription inside is 13½ ft. long and 1½ ft. broad, but contains only verses from the Qorán [Sur. IX, 18, 19], on the top in Kufic and below in (what people call now-a-days in India)

* In 760, according to the Tabaqát and the Riyáz; Stewart has 761. Regarding Firúz Sháh's desire to reinstate Zafar Khán, Mubarak Sháh's son-in-law, in the government of Sunnárgáon, the cause that led to the expedition, *vide* Dowson, Elliot's History of India, III, 304, ff.

† Stewart has 763.

‡ Ghiyás marched with a large army from Sunnárgáon, and pitched his camp at Sunnárgarhí. Stewart has Sunnárkot. From the other side, his father issued forth with a terror-inspiring army, and the next day, on the field of Goálpárah, both parties engaged in deadly strife. The whole story is only to be found in the Riyáz.

The Goálpárah meant here is, no doubt, the village quite close to Panḍuah, S.W. of it. I have not identified Sunnárgarhí.

§ It was written by one Ghiyás. General Cunningham is inclined to think that the Ghiyás is Sikandar's son.

Tughrá characters. The stone outside measures 4 ft. 9 in., and its letters are just as beautiful.

No. 8. *The Sikandar Sháh Inscription, Adinah Mosque, Hazrat Panđuah,*
A. H. 770, (*vide* Pl. V, No. 3).*

أَمْرَ بِبَنَاءِ الْعَمَارَةِ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدُ الْجَابَا (؟) فِي الدُّولَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ
أَعْلَمُ اعْدَلُ أَكْرَمُ الْكَاملِ السُّلَطَانِينِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجمِ الْوَاثِقِ بِتَائِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ أَبُو الْمُجَاهِدِ
سِكَنْدَرِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ بْنِ الْيَاسِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدِ خَلَافَتِهِ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْمَوْعِدِ
كِتَبَهُ فِي التَّارِيخِ سَتَّ رَجَبِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِينِ وَسَبْعِمِائَةِ ۖ

This.....mosque was ordered to be built in the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abul Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh, the king, son of Ilyás Sháh, the king,—may his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise!

He wrote it on the 6th Rajab of the year 770. [14th February, 1369.]

Neither inscriptions nor coins give Sikandar Sháh a full *julús* name; he only has a *kunyah*, Abul Mujáhid. Perhaps it would be going too far in speculations, if I were to say that Ilyás naturally called his son Sikandar; but a Muhammadan, on hearing the name of Ilyás, will immediately think of the *āb i hayát*, ‘the water of life’; and as Sikandar is the legendary successor of Ilyás (the Prophet Elias) in search of the precious commodity, the name of the father may have suggested that of the son.

As stated above, the histories assign Sikandar Sháh a reign of nine years and some months. Stewart says that he died in 769, a year obtained by adding nine years and a fraction to 760, which he assumes to have been the year in which Ilyás Sháh died. The above Panđuah inscription extends Sikandar's reign to the latter half of 770, and the coins figured by Mr. Thomas in his ‘Initial Coinage’ (J. A. S. B., 1867, Pl. II, Nos. 12, 14, and 13) give the dates 761, 782, and 783. But Mr. Thomas also states that among the large number of Sikandarsháhís that passed through his hands, he found coins of almost every year between 750 and 792, with the exception of the years 755, 762, 767, 768, 769, 774, 775, 777, and 778. It thus becomes clear that Sikandar Sháh struck coins as prince. Mr. Thomas also quotes A'zam Sháhí coins of 772, 775, 776, the years when Sikandar's coinage is most interrupted, and again from 790 to 799. Further, we have to remember that the poet Háfiz sent the well known ghazal

* I have elsewhere remarked on the numerous grammatical mistakes in Bengal Arabic Inscriptions. They consist chiefly in wrong articles, mistakes in gender, in oblique cases, and in wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals. In order not to disfigure the text, I shall no more indicate such errors by a (*sic*).

to Ghiyásuddín A'zam Sháh, 'king' of Bengal; and as Háfiz died in 791 (خاک مصلی being the date of his death), the ghazal must have been sent to Bengal during Sikandar Sháh's lifetime. The fact that A'zam Sháh's early coins (of A. H. 772) were struck in Mu'azzamábád (*vide* above), agrees with the statement of the Riyáz that he rebelled in Eastern Bengal, where he remained "nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority."*

VI. Ghiya'suddi'n Abul Muzaffar A'zam Sha'h.

The only fact given in the *Riyáz* and omitted by Stewart is that "A'zam Sháh was treacherously murdered (*ba-daghá kushtah*) by Rájah Káns " after a reign of seven years and some months,† or, as I have seen in a "little book, after a reign of sixteen years, five months, and three days."

The coins of this king, as mentioned before, go to 799; the latest figured by Mr. Thomas (Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pl. II, No. 15) is of 795.‡ No inscription of this and the following two kings have been found.

* It is also curious that in the inscription of 777, published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 292, no king is mentioned, as if it had been doubtful who the real king was.

In order to remove all doubts regarding a confusion of سبعين and تسعين in the reading of Sikandar's and A'zam Sháh's coins, a few clear drawings of Sikandar Sháhis struck between 783 and 792, and of A'zam Sháhis, struck in 772, 775, 776, would be required. A'zam Sháh's reign, according to the common statement, lasted 7 years, which we certainly get when we subtract 792 (the latest year cited by Mr. Thomas for Sikandar Sháh) from 799 (the latest year cited for A'zam Sháh); but if we take the second statement, given in the *Riyáz*, regarding the length of A'zam Sháh's reign, viz. 16 years, 5 months, and 3 days, and subtract it from 799, we get 783, the year of Mr. Thomas's latest figured coin.

† *I. e.*, according to the wrong chronology of the *Tabaqát* and the *Riyáz*, in 775.

‡ I may here suggest a few unimportant alterations in Mr. Thomas's readings of A'zam Sháh's coins ('Initial Coinage,' J. A. S. B., 1867, pp. 68 to 70). First, كين (loc. cit., p. 68) is to be corrected to عون الاسلام غوث. Again, the mysterious يمين (loc. cit., p. 70), as I see from a specimen in the Society's Coin Cabinet, is

بِدِ اللَّهِ دُولَتِهِ وَ خَلَادِ اللَّهِ مَلَكَهُ

May God render his power everlasting, and may God perpetuate his reign,—abbada alláhu, not the name 'Abdullah,—which removes from the mint officials the charge of ignorance. It was only Akbar who, in his hatred of everything that was Arabic, recommended the substitution of *Alif* for 'Ain, and ح for ح, &c.

In the reverse of the Sikandar Sháhí (loc. cit., p. 64, No. 23), as I also see from a coin in the possession of the Society, there is a wrong *Alif* before لدین and a و (*waw*) is omitted before *Algáhiru*,—'Who renders assistance to the religion of God, and who is victorious over the enemies of God.' This cancels the footnote.

VII. Saifuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Hamzah Sha'h, son of A'zam Sha'h.

The histories give him the epithet of Sultán ussalátín, and praise him for his virtues. Firishtah says :—“ And the Rájahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience and practised no neglect and delay in paying taxes.”

According to the Tabaqát, he reigned ten years. But the author of the Riyáz saw “ in the little book,” that the reign of this king was 3 years, 7 months, and 5 days, which would bring his reign to 802, or 803, A. H.

Marsden has published a coin of this king, without, however, giving the Royal name (Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLIV). It follows in appearance the coins of Sikandar Sháh and A'zam Sháh ; the margin contains ‘Fírúzábád,’ but no year. The specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society is of very rude manufacture, and has most clumsy letters, especially on the reverse.

Vide Pl. VII, No. 1. Silver. Weight, 162.505 grains. A. H. (80)4. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.) Rare. Circular areas.

المويد بتأييد الرحمن سيف الدنيا والدين أبوالمجاهد حمزة شاه
OBVERSE—
بن اعظم شاه اسلطان

REVERSE—ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين

MARGIN— * * * سنہ اربع * *

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Hamzah Sháh, son of A'zam Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and the Muslims * * year * * 4.

VIII. Shamsuddi'n ?, son of Saifuddi'n Hamzah Sha'h.

The Tabaqát says that this king followed the path of his father, and died after a quiet reign of three years and a few months. Firishtah states that as the king was young and deficient in intellect, an infidel of the name of Káns, who was an Amír of the court, obtained great power and influence, and usurped the executive and the collection of taxes. The Riyáz has the the following : “ After enjoying himself for some time, he died, in 788, from an illness, or through the foul play of Rájah Káns, who at that time was very powerful. *And some writers have asserted that this Shamsuddín was no son of the Sultán ussalátín, but an adopted son (mutabanní), and that his name was Shihábuddín.* Anyhow, he reigned 3 years, 4 months, and 6 days. It is clear that Rájah Káns, who was zamíndár of Bhatúriali, rebelled against him, killed him, and usurped the throne.”

THE SAINTS OF GAUR AND HAZRAT PANDUAI.

Before proceeding in my account of the kings of Bengal, it may be convenient here to collect the information which we possess regarding the

* I. e., according to the erroneous chronology, he would have died in 785.

Muhammadan saints of Gaur and Panduah. Their names often occur in Bengal History, while their dargáhs, as elsewhere, are the natural depositaries of inscriptions.

The principal personages of saintly renown are Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízí, Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán, Shaikh 'Aláulhaq, and Núr Quṭb 'Alam.* All larger works on Muhammadan Saints contain biographical notices of them.

1. *Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízí.*

He was a pupil of Abú Sa'íd Tabrízí and of the renowned Shaikh Shiháb-uddín Suhrawardí. He accompanied the latter on his pilgrimages to Makkah, and used to carry on his head a small oven with the hot pots in which his master kept his food. Numerous miracles are ascribed to him. Among others, he converted, with one look, at Badáoñ a Hindú milkman to Islám. Though several times charged with immoral practices, he defeated his accusers. When he went to Bengal, he commenced to destroy idols; in fact, his vault occupies the site of an idol temple. He kept a *langar-khánah*, where he housed and fed beggars and travellers. He died in 642 A. H., or A. D. 1244. The place where he died does not seem to be accurately known. The Mutawallís of the tomb near Gaur say that he died in Aurangábád (the old K'harkí), and that his shrine in Bengal† is a mere *jawáb*, or imitation-vault; but the Aín i Akbarí (IVth book) says that he was buried at Bandar Díú Mahall.‡ *Vide* below under Yúsuf Sháh.

2. *Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddin 'Usmán.*

Siráj came as a boy to Nizámuddín Auliá of Dihlí, who handed him over to Fakhruddín Zarrádí to teach. In course of time, he became very learned, and was told to go to Bengal, where he died in 758, A. H., or 1357, A. D. The *Haft Iqlím* says that Nizám called him 'the mirror of Hindústán,' and that he only received, when advanced in age, proper instruction from Fakhruddín. After Nizám's death, he went to Lak'hnaútí, and all the king became his pupils.

For the inscriptions at his tomb, *vide* below under Husain Sháh.

* Besides these, the Riyáz mentions a Shaikh Réjá Bayábání (died in 754, when Firúz besieged Ilyás Sháh). Shaikh Hamíd of Nágór, one of Núr Quṭb 'Alam's teachers, belongs to Nágór in Jodhpúr, not to Nágór in Bírbhúm, as Stewart says.

† As most Dargáhs in Bengal, Sháh Jalál's tomb is rich. Its lands lie chiefly in Bardwán District, at Bohát, near Maimári, a station on the E. I. Railway. There is a Madrasah and a Sarái in Bohát.

The oven is still shewn at the Gaur shrine, and "till three generations back, it cooked rice without fuel."

‡ I. e., either the Maldives, or Díú in Gujarát. *Vide* Dowson, IV, 96, note.

3. Shaikh 'Aláuddin 'Alá-ulhaq.

'Alá-ulhaq was the son of Shaikh As'ad of Láhor, and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán. According to the *Ma'árij-ul-wiláyat*, he was a true Quraishí Hásimí, and traced his descent from Khálid bin Walíd. He was at first exceedingly proud of his origin, wealth, and knowledge, so much so, that Shaikh Akhí complainingly told Nizámuddín Auliá that he was no match for 'Alá-ulhaq. But Nizám told him not to mind it, as 'Alá would in time become his (Akhí's) pupil. It seems that 'Alá in his pride called himself *Ganj i Nabát*,* and when Nizám heard this, he cursed him, and said, "May God strike him dumb!" The curse instantly took effect; nor was 'Alá-ulhaq's tongue loosed till he became the humble pupil of Shaikh Akhí. As Shaikh Akhí travelled a great deal on horseback, 'Alá-ulhaq accompanied him walking barefoot and carrying his master's pots filled with hot food on his head, till he became quite bald. Nor did he feel concerned when Shaikh Akhí, with a view of humiliating him, passed on his journey the houses of his brothers, who were all Amírs and rich men.

Once some travelling faqírs came to 'Alá-ulhaq's cell. One of them had a cat with him;† but whilst in 'Alá's house, the cat was lost. The owner asked the saint to 'make' him a new cat; but when 'Alá said that he did not know from what to make one, he replied, "What do I care from what you make it, make it out of the horn of a stag, if you like." 'Alá was annoyed and said, "You shall feel the horns." Thereupon another of the faqírs, in order to vex the saint, said, "Well, can I make a cat from my testicles?" and 'Alá replied, "There you shall feel it." When the faqírs had left the house, the former was killed by an ox, and the second got an attack of orchitis, of which he died.

'Alá-ulhaq spent large sums in feeding pupils, beggars, and wanderers. But the king of the land got envious, because the public treasury even could not have borne such a heavy expenditure, and he drove the saint to Sunnárgáon. He stayed there for two years, and gave his servants orders to spend twice as much as before. And yet, he only possessed two gardens, the income from which was eight thousand silver tankahs *per annum*; but as he gave a beggar the land as a present, all money must have been supplied him from the unseen world.

* Faríduddín 'Attár, the great saint of Pák Paṭan (Ajodhan) in the Panjáb has the title of *Ganj i Shakar*, 'store of sugar.' But *shakar* may be unrefined, whilst *nabát* is applied to the best refined sugar. 'Alá-ulhaq, therefore, placed himself above Faríd.

† What the dog is to Europeans, is the cat to Indians. To kill or lose a cat is most unlucky.

'Alá-ulhaq died on the 1st Rajab, 800, or 20th March, 1398, and his tomb is at Hazrat Panđuah.

4. Shaikh Núruddín Núr Quṭb 'Álam.

He is the son and spiritual successor of 'Alá-ulhaq. In order early to practise the virtue of humility, he washed the clothes of beggars and wanderers, and kept the water constantly hot for ceremonial ablutions; nay, he even swept the cell of his father and cleaned the privies attached to the house. One day, whilst thus engaged, his pure body was polluted, and his father allowed him to proceed to other work, as woodcutting. He refused the invitation of his worldly brother A'zam Khán, who was the Vazír at the court of Muhammad Tughluq.*

Quṭb 'Álam died in 851, or A. D. 1447, and lies buried at Panđuah. The words *shams ul hidáyat*, 'lamp of guidance,' are the *tárikh* of his death. He was succeeded by his sons Ruf'atuddín and Shaikh Anwar.

IX. Rájah Káns.

We saw above that Shamsuddín (II.)—a king whose existence and royal titles have not yet been verified by medallic or mural evidence—was dethroned by Rájah Káns. This Rájah, at the present stage of research, belongs to legends and traditions rather than to authenticated history, there being little else known of him besides the fact that through him the succession of kings of the house of Ilyás Sháh, which had successfully ruled over Bengal for more than fifty years, was broken, and that his son became a Muhammadan.

The remark of the Riyáz regarding Shamsuddín and the probability that he did not belong to the old dynasty, but was an adopted son and was called Shihábuddín, receives a particular importance from the following coins of a new king, whom I shall now assign, for the first time, I believe, a place in the list of the kings of Bengal. Their manner of execution, which follows closely on that of the coins of preceding kings, and the mint towns mentioned proclaim them to be Bengal coins. The name of the new king is—

Shihábuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Ba'yazi'd Sha'h.

His coins do not mention the name of his father, and the absence of the usual phrase *ibn ussultán*, 'son of the king,' indicates that he was either a usurper, in which case 'Báyazíd' might represent the Muhaminadan name of Rájah Káns after conversion, or a puppet king, in whose name Rájah Káns reigned and coined in the 'Dárul Islám' of Bengal.

If we take the first alternative, we have against it the clear statement of the historians that Káns remained a Hindú, and also the circumstance

* This is rather early, considering that 752 is Tughluq's last year.

that his son does not mention the name of his father on his coins, which he would scarcely have omitted, if Káns had turned Muhammedan. And if we look upon this Báyazíd Sháh as a successful rival of Rájah Káns, we have history and legends against us. Hence the theory of a puppet king—a *bendamí* transaction—is perhaps the least objectionable.

1. *Vide Pl. VIII, No. 2.* Silver. Weight, 163·94 grains. A.H. 812. Circular areas. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.)

المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن شهاب الدين أبو المظفر بایزید شاه
OBVERSE.—السلطان

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملکه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السکة ... سنه ٨١٢

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Shihábuddunyá waddín Abú Muzaffar Báyazíd Sháh, the king.

The helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims, may God perpetuate his reign! This coin was struck * * * * year 812.

2 *Vide Pl. VIII, No. 3.** New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·76 grains. Firúzábád, A. H. 816. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, two specimens.) Rare. The obverse has sixteen convex scollops, and the reverse eight concave ones.

OBVERSE.—As in No. 1.

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين

(ابو بکر) ضرب (عمر) فیروز (عثمان) آباد منه (علی)

In the Margin—(Abú Bakr) struck at ('Umar) Firúz-(Usmán) ábád in the year ('Alí) 816.

Rájah Káns has been identified by Mr. E. V. Westmacott† with Ganesh, Rájah of 'Dynwaj,' or Dínájpúr. The Riyáz, who appears to have compiled his chapter on this usurper from local traditions, calls him 'Rájah of Bhatúriah.' Whether this name is an ancient one, I cannot say; it does not occur in the Áín, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennell's Atlas (1778), in which the name of Bhatúriah is given to a large District east of Málđah, bounded in the west by the Mahánandá River and the Púrná-

* In the figure of this coin, there is a wrong stroke between the *A* and *I* in the year.

† *Vide Calcutta Review*, No CX, October, 1872. Col. Dalton suggests a comparison of the name 'Káns' with 'Kons,' or 'Konch,' the same as Koch (Koch Bihár). Koch is often pronounced with a nasal twang, as if it were spelt Koñs.

It is also curious that a Parganah near Dínájpúr (south-west of it) has the name of 'Bájít púr,' a well known Bangálí corruption of Báyazíd púr, which at once reminds us of Báyazíd Sháh. We may attach some significance to this, as the name is evidently old; for the name of this very parganah occurs in the Áín i Akbarí (my text edition, p. 408, in Sirkár Panjrah).

bhaba its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dínájpúr and G'horág'háṭ. Bhatúriah, therefore, is the district to both sides of the Atrai River.

The Tabaqát i Akbarí merely states the fact of Káns's usurpation, and assigns him a reign of seven years. Firishtah, who has been followed by Stewart, says that, "though no Muhammadan, he mixed with them and loved them, so much so that some Muhammadans testified to his conversion, and claimed for him a Muhammadan burial. After a vigorous reign of seven years, he went to the world of annihilation, and was succeeded by his son, who had the honor of being converted to Islám."*

The Riyáz represents the views of the opponents of the Rájah, and gives the following :—

'When Sultán Shamsuddín died, Rájah Káns, a Hindú zamindár, seized the whole kingdom of Bengal, and sat proudly on the throne. Oppression and bloodshed followed; he tried to kill all Muhammadans, and had many learned men murdered. In fact, his object was to drive Islám from his kingdom. One day, people say, Shaikh Badr ul Islám, son of Shaikh Mu'inuddín 'Abbás, went to the wicked tyrant, but did not greet him. When the Rájah asked him why he had not saluted him, he replied, "Learned men are not supposed to greet infidels, especially an infidel tyrant, who like thee sheds the blood of Muhammadans." The unclean heretic was silenced, he winced under the reply, and thought of nothing else but to kill the Shaikh. He, therefore, called him one day to a room, the door of which was very low and narrow. But the Shaikh saw through the plan,* and put his foot first over the threshold, and then entered without bending his head. This annoyed the Rájah so much, that he gave orders to take him to the path of his brethren. The Shaikh was at once executed. All the remaining learned men, on the same day, were put on board a ship and were drowned in the middle of the river.'

'The usurpation of this infidel and the slaughter of Muhammadans drove at last the Saint Núr Qutb ul 'Alam to despair, and he wrote a letter to Sultán Ibráhim i Sharqí (of Jaunpúr), *who at that time had extended his kingdom to the [Eastern] frontier of Bihár,*† complaining of the injustice done to Islám and the Muslims, and asking the king to march against the infidel. Ibráhím received the letter with due humility, and consulted with Qázi

* The Rájah evidently wished the Shaikh to come to him in a stooping position, which might be looked upon as a 'salám'.

† The Jaunpúr kingdom was founded in 796, and Ibráhím Sharqí, the first titular Sultán, reigned from 804 to 844. The faulty chronology of the Tabaqát, Firishtah, and Stewart, makes Rájah Káns die in 794. The story of the Riyáz, therefore, agrees very well with the testimony of coins; but it is strange that the author of the Riyáz did not see the anachronism.

Shihábuddín Jaunpúrí, the chief of the learned of the age, who was allowed at court to sit on a silver chair. The Qází represented the worldly and religious advantages that would flow from a war with the infidel on the one hand, and from a visit to the great saint, on the other. The king, therefore, collected a large army, invaded Bengal, and pitched his camp at Sarái Fírúzpúr. Rájah Káns now applied to Quṭb ul 'Álam, begged to be forgiven, and asked him to intercede on his behalf with the king of Jaunpúr. The saint replied that at the request of an infidel he could not bid a Muhammadan king stop ; in fact, he had himself invited the enemy to come. The Rájah placed his head on the feet of the saint, and said, he was willing to perform anything he ordered him to do, whereupon Quṭb ul 'Álam told him that he would not interfere until he was converted to Islím. The Rájah placed the finger of acceptance upon his eye ; but the wife of the infidel led him back to perdition, and he evaded conversion. But he took his boy, who was twelve years old and had the name of Jadú, to the saint and said, "I have got old and wish to renounce the world ; make this boy a Muhammadan and give him the kingdom of Bengal." Quṭb ul 'Álam, thereupon, put some *pán* which he was chewing, into Jadú's* mouth, taught him the creed, and thus made him a Muhammadan, giving him the name of Jaláluddín. According to the Rájah's wish, he also sent a proclamation through the town, ordering the people to read the Friday prayer in the name of the new king. The blessed law of the prophet was thus carried out with new vigour. Quṭb ul 'Álam now went to king Ibráhím, and asked him to return. The king looked angrily at Qází Shihábuddín, who said to Quṭb ul 'Álam, "At your request the king has come here, and now you come to him as ambassador to implore his mercy. What shall men think of this?" The saint replied, "When I called you, a tyrant oppressed the faithful ; but now, in consequence of your approach, the new ruler has become a Muhammadan ; fight with infidels, not with a king that belongs to the Faith." This silenced the Qází ; but as the king still looked angry, the Qází had the boldness to enter into a scientific discussion with the saint. After many questions and answers, Quṭb said, "To look on the poor with contempt or entangle them in examinations, brings no man prosperity. Your miserable end is at hand." He then looked even at the Sultán with expressions of anger. Ibráhím now got vexed, and returned with a sorry heart to Jaunpúr. It is said that not long after, Sultán Ibráhím and Qází Shihábuddín died.

' When Rájah Káns heard that Sultán Ibráhím was dead, he deposed Jaláluddín, took again the reins of the government into his own hands, and ruled according to his false tenets. He made several hollow cows of gold, threw Jalál into the mouth of one, and pulled him out behind ; the gold

* As saints do with their pupils, or in order to break the boy's caste.

was then distributed among the Brahmans. He hoped that the boy would thus return to his old faith. But as Jalál had been converted to Islám by a saint like Quṭb ul 'Alam, he remained faithful to his new belief, and the talk of the infidels made no impression upon him.

Rájah Káns now again commenced to persecute the Muhammadans. When the measure of his cruelties was full, Shaikh Anwar, son of Quṭb ul 'Alam, said one day to his father, "It is a matter of regret that, with you as guardian saint, the Muhammadans have so much to suffer at the hand of this infidel." The saint was just at his devotions, and angry at the interruption, he exclaimed, "The misery will not cease till thy blood is shed." Anwar knew that whatever his father said, was sure to come true; he, therefore, replied that he was a willing martyr * * *. The oppression of Rájah Káns reached the climax, when he imprisoned Shaikh Anwar and his brother's son Shaikh Záhid. But as he dared not kill them, he banished them to Sunnárgáon, in the hope that they would confess where Quṭb ul 'Alam had buried his money and that of his father. But even though they were sent to Sunnárgáon, and were much threatened, no money was found, because none had ever been buried, and Shaikh Anwar was ordered to be killed. Before his execution, he said that at such and such a place they would find a large pot. People dug and found a large vessel with only one gold coin in it. On being asked what had become of the other money, Anwar replied, "It seems to have been stolen." Anwar, no doubt, said so by inspiration from the unseen world.

It is said that on the very day on which Shaikh Anwar died, Rájah Káns went from his palace to the infernal regions. But according to the statement of some, he was killed by his son Jaláluddín, who, though in prison, had won over the officers. The oppressive rule of this monster had lasted seven years.

X. Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh.

According to the histories, he is the son* of Rájah Káns. His real name is given in the Riyáz as 'Jadú,' and by Firishtah as 'Jatmall' or 'Jaimall'—the MSS. differ. There is a place J a t m a l l p ú r, a little east of Dínájpúr, and we may assume the first name to be correct. As the coins of Báyazíd Sháh go up to 816, and the coins of Muhammad Sháh commence with 818, the latter year, or 817, must be the beginning of his reign; and if he reigned for seventeen years, as stated in the histories, his reign may have lasted from 818 to 835, which agrees with the year on Marsden's coin

* Stewart supposes that he was the eldest son of the Rájah by a Muhammadan concubine. According to the Tabaqát and Firishtah, he reigned seventeen years, and died in 812 A.H. Stewart says, eighteen years.

of his successor Ahmad Sháh (836). General Cunningham tells me that the Bodleian Library at Oxford has a specimen of 831.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 4, and Marsden, Nunnism., Pl. xxxvii, No. ccclxv. Silver. Weight, 166·89 grains. Mint town ?. A.H. 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.)

Obverse area, bounded by sixteen convex scollops; reverse area, a four-leaved shamrock.

جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان—
OBVERSE.

Margin, none.

ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملکه—
REVERSE.

ضرب هذه السکة في *** سنة ٨١٨
Margin.—

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and of the Muslims,—may his reign be perpetuated! This coin was struck in.....in the year 818.

Marsden gives this coin as dated 823, but his figure does not shew that year.

2. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 5. New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·695 grains. A. H. 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Obverse area as in No. 1; reverse, eight concave scollops.

السلطان العادل جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان—
OBVERSE.

Margin, none.

ناصر امیر المؤمنین غوث الاسلام و المسلمين—
REVERSE.

(ابویکر) ضرب (عمرو) سنه ثمان (عثمان) عشرين (علی) ثمانينه
Margin, (

The just king Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims. (Abú Bakr) struck ('Umar) in the year ('Usmán) eighteen ('Alí) eight hundred [818, A. II.].

3. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 6. Silver. Weight, 155·725 grains. Sunnár-gáon (?), A. H. 821. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.) Obverse area, as in No. 1; reverse area, a square inscribed in a circle.

OBVERSE and REVERSE, as in No. 1.

Margin, ٨٢١ (سناکانو?) ضرب

During the time of Muhammad Sháh, says the Riyáz, the town of Panḍuah became so flourishing, that it cannot be sufficiently described. The king also built a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalálí Tank, and a Sarái in Gaur; in fact, Gaur also was again during his reign occupied. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 [822], he made the Palace of Gaur his residence. A large dome with his tomb still exists in Panḍuah, and the tombs of his wife and his son are at the side of his in the same vault.'

XI. Shamsuddín Abul Muja hid Ahmad Sha'h.

Marsden (*Numismata*, Pl. xxxvii, No. DCCLXXIV) has published a silver coin of this king, whom the histories call the son of Muhammad Sháh. The coin bears the clear date 836 A.H. (1432-33, A.D.), and differs from the preceding Bengal coins by having the Kalimah on one side.* The *Tabaqát* merely states that he reigned for sixteen† years, and died in 830 A.H., whilst *Firishtah* adds that he was a good and liberal king. The *Riyáz* gives him a different character. ‘As Ahmad Sháh was of rough disposition, tyrannical, and blood thirsty, he shed the blood of innocent people, and tore open the bodies of pregnant women. When his cruelty had risen high, and great and small were in despair, Shádi Khán and Náçir Khán, two of his slaves, whom he had raised to the rank of Amírs, made a conspiracy and killed him. This took place in 830, after Ahmad Sháh had reigned sixteen, or, as some say, eighteen, years.’

Shádi Khán now desired to get rid of Náçir Khán; but Náçir Khán outwitted him, killed him, and issued orders as king. The Amírs and Maliks, however, refused to obey him, and murdered him, after seven days, or, as some say, after twelve hours.’

With Ahmad Sháh ends the dynasty of Rájah Káns. Taking the year 817, the beginning of Muhammad Sháh’s reign, as a well attested starting point, and assuming the duration of each reign as given in the histories to be correct, we would get—

	<i>Duration of reign.</i>	<i>Ascertained dates.</i>
Rájah Káns (Báyazid Sháh)	} 817 — 7, or 810 to 817.	Coins of 812 and 816.
Muhammad Sháh,	817 + 17, or 817 to 834.	Coins of 818, 821, 823, 831.
Ahmad Sháh,	834 + 16, or 834 to 850.	Coin of 836.

Now above we saw that the last ascertained year for Hamzah Sháh’s reign is 804. If we then allow, on the testimony of all histories, above three years to Shamsuddín, son of Saifuddín, we would be brought to the year 808, the commencement of the usurpation of Rájah Káns, and the reckoning, according to the data which we at present possess, is on the whole satisfactory.

The length of Ahmad Sháh’s reign only is open to doubt; for if his reign be extended to 850, we are forced to assume that for the greater part of his rule he was vigorously and successfully opposed by Náçiruddín Mahmúd, whose coinage, as will be seen from the following, goes back at least to 846 A.H.

* The reading of the obverse is—

السلطان الاعظيم شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهم احمد شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

† Stewart has eighteen.

RESTORATION OF THE ILYÁ'S SHA'H DYNASTY.

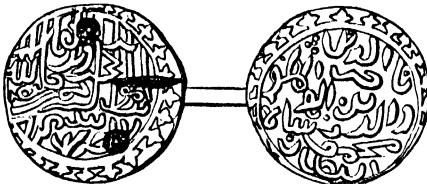
XII. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sha'h (I).

The histories agree in describing him as a descendant of Ilyás Sháh. He seems to have been supported by the old party who were tired of Ahmad Sháh; old families are said to have gathered round him; and Gaur, the old capital, was rebuilt by him. The wars between Jaunpúr and Dihlí, as Firishtah correctly observes, gave Bengal rest, and Mahmúd Sháh, according to the histories, reigned in peace for thirty-two years, or according to some "not more than twenty-seven years," and died in A. H. 862.

In the histories, he is called by his first name Nácir Sháh, instead of Mahmúd Sháh. Bengal history presents several examples of similar inversions, if the retention of the familiar name of the king can be called so.

The chronology of Mahmúd Sháh's reign has been considerably cleared up by a coin in the possession of Col. H. Hyde, the President of our Society, and by the inscriptions received from General Cunningham and Dr. Wise. The dates now ascertained are 846; 861; 20th Sha'bán, 863; 28th Zil Hajjah, 863. Again, the oldest inscription of Bárak Sháh, discovered by Mr. E. V. Westmacott, is dated Qafar, 865. We are, therefore, certain that Mahmúd Sháh must have reigned at least till the beginning of 864. But if the second statement of the histories regarding the length of his reign (27 years) be correct, we would get the year 836 as the first year of his reign, the very year in which Marsden's Ahmad Sháhí was struck. This would make Mahmúd Sháh an opposition king for the whole length of Ahmad Sháh's reign, which the histories say was not the case. We require, therefore, more evidence to fix the beginning of Mahmúd's reign.

1. *Coin of Mahmúd Sháh.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·08 grains. (Col. H. Hyde.) A. H. 846. No mint-town. The margin contains little crosses.



المؤيد بن ناصير الرحمن حجت خليفة الله [في الزمان] صریب سنة ٨٤٦.—
ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان.—

He who is assisted by the assistance of God, the evidence of the Khalífah of God in this age, Náciruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king. A. H. 846.

Mahmúd Sháh's coins hitherto published are almost valueless. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society has only one specimen, without date or mint-

town, like No. 8 of Laidley's Plate of Bengal coins (Journal XV, for 1846, Pl. iv). Some have the Muhammadan creed on one side in (so called) Tughrá characters, and, on the other side, the name of the king *Náqirud-dunyá waddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh*. The margin of the specimen is unfortunately cut away. Mr. Laidley's No. 7 has the same obverse; the reverse is the same as on Hamzah Sháh's coins—*

ناصر امیر المؤمنین غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملکه

But the three inscriptions of this king are very valuable, *viz.*, one from Sátgáon, dated A. H. 861, or 1457 A. D.; one from Dháká, dated 20th Sha'bán, 863, or 13th June, 1459;† and one from Gaur, discovered by General Cunningham, dated 28th Zil Híjjah, 863, or 26th October, 1459.

No. 9. *The Mahmúd Sháh Inscription of Sátgáon* (A. H. 861).‡

قال الله تعالى إنما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر واقام الصلة
وآنى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهندين
وقال عز من قايل جل جلاله و عم نواله ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله
احدا وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم و على الله واصحابه من بذى
مسجد الله بذى الله له بيتنا في الجنة * * * المؤيد بتائيدك
[الرحمن] * * * بالحجّة والبرهان غوث الاسلام و المسلمين
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالظفر [محمو] د شاه السلطان خلد ملکه و سلطانه
و اعلى امورة و شأنه بناء الخان الاعظم المعظم المكرم المخاطب بخطاب

* I am doubtful whether Laidley's Nos. 11 and 12 belong to this king. The obverse of No. 11 consists of seven circles, four with 'Náqir Sháh,' and three with 'assultán,' the reverse is illegible. It is unlikely that the king should have called himself Náqir Sháh on some coins, when other coins and all inscriptions give his royal name 'Mahmúd Sháh.' Laidley's No. 12 is curious; it shews on the reverse the *kalimah* in clumsy Kufic characters, and on the obverse five circles with 'Mahmúd Sháh assultán.' In the centre of the piece are three rings, thus—••. Three rings thus arranged are Timur's arms; *vide* Vambéry's Bokhara, p. 205.

† Received from Dr. J. Wise. It was published in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

‡ This inscription was first published by me in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, Part I, p. 293, where notes will be found on the locality. The name 'Mahmúd' is broken away, only the *dál* is left, which in 1870, when I copied the inscription from the stone, I mistook for a *nún*. General Cunningham's rubbing leaves no doubt that it is a *dál*. I therefore republish the inscription with this important correction.

تربیت خان سلّمه اللہ تعالیٰ عن آفات آخر الزمان بمنه و کمال کرمہ فی
سنة الحادی و ستین و ثمانمایة ||

God Almighty says, 'Surely he builds the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and establishes the prayer, and offers the legal alms, and fears no one except God. It is they that perhaps belong to such as are guided. And how beautifully does He whose glory shines forth and whose benefits are general, say, ' Surely the mosques belong to God, do not call on any other besides Allah.' And the Prophet says,—may God's blessing rest upon him and upon his house and his companions!—' He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

* * * * by him who is assisted by the help of the Merciful, * * * by proof and evidence, the help of Islám and the Muslims, Náciruddunyá waddín Abú Muñazzáf [Mahmúd Sháh], the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition! It was built by the great Khán, the exalted, the liberal, who has the title of Tarbiyat Khán—may God Almighty protect him from the evils of the end of time by His grace and the perfection of His mercy! In the year 861. [A. D. 1457.]

No. 10. *The Mahmúd Sháh Inscription of Hazrat Panđuah*, (Pl. V,
No. 4).

General Cunningham found this inscription at the Chhotá Dargáh in Panđuah.

قال اللہ تعالیٰ کل نفس ذایقة الموت و قال اللہ تعالیٰ اذ جاء اجلهم
فلا يستاخرون ساعة ولا يستقدمون * قال اللہ تعالیٰ کل من عليها فان
دیقی وجه ریک ذو الجلال والاکرام * و انتقال مخدومنا العلامۃ استاد
الائمة برہان الامۃ شمس الملة حجۃ الاسلام وال المسلمين نافع الفقراء والمساكین
مرشد الواصلین والمسترشدین من دار الفداء الى دار الدقاء الثامن والعشرين
من ذی الحجۃ فی يوم الانذین و كان ذلك من السنة الثالث و ستین
وثمانمایة فی عهد سلطان السلاطین حامی بلاد اهل اسلام و المسلمين
ناصر الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر محمد شاه سلطان صانه اللہ بالامن والامان
وبنی هذا الروضة خان الاعظم لطیف خان سلّمه من البليات والآفات ||

God Almighty says, 'Every creature tasteth death' (Qor., III, 182). He also says, 'When their fate comes, they cannot delay it an hour, nor anticipate it' (Qor., X, 50). He also says, 'Everything on earth fadeth, but the face of Thy Lord remaineth full of glory and honor.'

Our revered master, the teacher of Imáms, the proof of the congregation, the sun of the Faith, the testimony of Islám and of the Muslims, who bestowed advantages upon the poor and the indigent, the guide of saints and of such as wish to be guided, passed away from this transient world to the everlasting mansion, on the 28th Zil Hijjah, a Monday, of the year 863, during the reign of the king of kings, the protector of the countries of the Faithful, Náqir uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God keep him in safety and security! This tomb was erected by the great Khán, Laṭif Khán,—may God protect him against evils and misfortunes!

XIII. Ruknuddí'n Abul Muja'hid Ba'rbaik Sha'h.

The histories agree in calling him the son of Náqir Sháh, i. e., Mahmúd Sháh, and in assigning him a reign of seventeen years. The Riyáz says, seventeen, or sixteen; and the latter statement is evidently nearer the truth, as by the preceding inscription Bárbaik cannot have commenced to reign before 864.

To judge from the Tribeni inscription published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 290, it would appear that Bárbaik as prince was governor of south-western Bengal in 860; but the inscription styles him 'Malik,' not 'Sultán,' from which it is clear that he was no rebel.

The following inscription, which Mr. E. V. Westmacott found in Dínájpúr, is very valuable, as it proves that Bárbaik was king in the very beginning of 865.

No. 11. *The Bárbaik Shák Inscription of Dínájpúr.*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * نَصْرٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَفُتُوحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَّ بَشْرٌ الْمُوْمَنِينَ *
 فَاللَّهُ خَيْرٌ حَافِظًا وَّ هُوَ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ *

بناء المسجد في العهد السلطان ابن سلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو
 المجاهد باريشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
 بحكم اشارة خان اعظم و خاقان معظم پهلوى العصر و الزمان ألغ اقرار (؟)
 خان سرلشکرو و زیر بانی خیر مسجد مذکور و مرمت کردہ روپه خان اعظم
 و خاقان معظم الغ نصرت خان جنگدار و شقدار معاملات جور و برور
 و محلهاد دیگر فی التاریخ السادس و عشر من الشهور الصفر ختمه الله
 بالخير و الظفر شهر سنتة خمس و سنتین و ثمانمایة ||

In the name of God the merciful and the clement! A victory from God and a near success, and announce it to the Faithful (Qor. LXI, 13). God is excellent as a protector, and He is the most merciful of the merciful (Qor. XII, 64).

The building of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the king, the son of a king, Ruknuddunyā wad dīn Abūl Mūjāhid Bārbak Shāh, the king, son of Māhmūd Shāh, the king,—may God continue his kingdom and rule!—by the direction of the great Khán, the noble chief, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Iqrár (?) Khán, commander and wazír, builder of this religious edifice, the said mosque. And the repairer of the tomb (is) the great Khán and noble chief Ulugh Nūqrat Khán, the jangdár and shiqdár of the affairs of Jor and Barúr and of other Mahallahs. Dated, the 16th day of the month of Safar,—may God bring it to a happy and successful end!—of the year 865. (1st December, 1460, A. D.)*

Note on a Bārbak Shāh Inscription from Dīnājpūr.—By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, Esq., C. S.

‘I send a rubbing of an inscription of the reign of Barbak Shah, A. H. 865. It states him to have been the son of Malnuood Shah, a point upon which a bit of additional evidence is not without value. It is very clearly cut on the usual black stone, which is commonly called basalt, but which is more like a slate. In one place I found the surface flaking off, and so brittle, that I was afraid to clear it of the whitewash, with which it was clogged, as thoroughly as I should have liked. The slab is about twenty-two inches long, and the inscription is in five lines.

‘It is let into the eastern front of a little brick-built mosque adjoining the grave of Chihil Ghazee, the Peer, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan in his report on Dīnagepore, p. 29. The grave, surrounded by an iron railing, is 5½ feet long, and is supposed to correspond to the stature of the saint. It is on the north side of the path up to the mosque, some hundred yards to the west of the Darjeeling road, four miles north of Dīnagepore, and not far from the Gopalgunge temples. The Mootawallees are a very ignorant fellow, and I have found out nothing of the Peer beyond his name.

‘The founder of the mosque was “Shikdár of the affairs of Baroor,” and of another place. Baroor I take to be the parganah of that name, now in Poorniah, outside the western border of Dīnagepore.

‘On each side of the inscription has been let into the wall a stud, or circular piece, of the same stone, which have on the right side of each a groove, as if for a clamp, which makes me think they were not originally cut for their present position. They are about eight inches in diameter. The centre of each bears in Tughra the *mehr i nubuwat* or ‘seal of prophethood,’ surrounding this is an inscription of which I send rubbings, but which neither the Moulawi nor I can decipher. In an outer ring, half an inch lower, the northern stone bears the inscription—

* I take this opportunity to correct the wrong reading of a title in the Bārbak Shāh Inscription published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Pt. I., p. 290, Inscr. VII., where for جامد ارغیر محل I should have read *jāmaddar-i ghair-i mahall*, as explained in Journal for 1872, Pt. I., p. 106.

ایں نقشہ مهر تبوت کہ درمیان دو شانہ مبارک محمد مصطفیٰ صلی
الله علیہ و سلم بود ॥

This is the picture of the seal of prophetship which was between the two shoulders of Muhammad Muqtasā—may God bless him!

‘As door steps to the mosque and to the enclosure surrounding the grave are pieces of hewn stone, similar pieces lying close by; they are more or less carved and appear to be parts of doorways. Such stones are common in all parts of the district, and are said by tradition to have been brought from Bannagar, near Debkot. They are similar to the remains of Gour and Poroowa [Panquah]. On the south side of the path is the female portion of a *ling*, of large size, a queer ornament for the premises of a Mahomedan saint.

‘The mosque is somewhat ruinous, the roots of plants are tearing it in pieces. I think that it is of greater antiquity than most in the district, from the strength of the brick arches, the workmanship of the dome, and the fact that the hewn stones which are built into the inner side of each archway, have been cut to fit their places, although bearing marks of clamps to show they have been taken from another building.

‘Three archways, twenty-eight inches wide and nearly six feet high, lead into a vestibule twelve feet by five and a half, at each end of which a similar archway opens to the north and south. Three more archways lead into a chamber, twelve feet square, surmounted by a dome, now cracked in several directions. In the west wall are three niches, and two small archways on the north and south lead into the open air. On the inner side of each of the ten archways, a little below the spring of the arches, hewn stones, six or eight inches thick, are carried through the whole thickness of the wall which is three feet through. It is unusual in Dinaigapore to find that the workmen have dressed the stone as they have here.

‘It is usual to build them in just as they are, often with most incongruous Hindoo carvings upon them.’

Regarding the “seal of prophetship,” it is said in the *Madārij-un-nubuwat* by ’Abdul Haq of Dihlī, that the seal between the shoulders of the Prophet was a thing raised above the surrounding parts of his blessed body, resembling the body in colour, smoothness, and brightness. And it is stated in the *Mustadrīk* that Wahb ibn Munabbih said that no prophet was sent on earth that had not the sign of prophetship on his right hand, except the Prophet, who had the sign between the shoulders. Shaikh Ibn Hajar in his commentary to the *Mishkāt* says that the seal contained the words “**وَاللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ تَوْجِهٌ حِينَ كُنْتَ فَيَأْكُلُ مَنْصُورٌ**” and God is one, He has no associate; pay attention wherever thou art, for thou art victorious.”

Some traditions say that the seal was of light, and others, that it vanished from the skin when the Prophet expired, so much so that people knew by its disappearance that the prophet was really dead. Several authorities compare the seal to the egg of a pigeon : some call it a red fleshknot,' and others say that it was a wart covered with hair.

Marsden gives a Bárbaik coin which clearly shews the year 873.*

The cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains the following :—

1. *Vide Pl. IX, No. 7.* New variety. Silver. Weight 164·025 grains. (Asiatic Society's Cabinet.) A specimen in the possession of Bábú Rájendralála Mitra weighs 164·335 grains.

الا الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان العادل العالم العادل

الاعظم المظيم باریشاہ السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان

Neither of these coins give Bárbaik's full name.

XIV. Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbaik Sháh.

Firishtah represents him as a learned man, who, after his accession, charged the 'Ulamá to see the law of the Prophet carried out. 'No one dared drink wine.'

The histories assign him a reign of seven years and six months, and say that he died in 887. If so, the end of his reign was marked by a successful rebellion of his uncle Fath Sháh ; but it is just as likely that Yúsuf died early in 886.

Marsden has a coin of this king without year, and Laidley gives a new variety of 884.† General Cunningham's inscriptions give the following dates—

1. Panđuah, 1st Muharram, 882, or 15th April, 1477.
2. Hazrat Panđuah, 20th Rajab, 884, or 8th October, 1479.
3. Gaur, 10th Ramazán, 885, or 13th November, 1480.

No. 12. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Panđuah, Húglí District.*‡

(Pl. VI, No. 1.) A. H. 882.

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام

من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له في الآخرة سبعين قصرا * بنى المسجد في عهد السلطان الزمان المؤيد بتائيد الدين خليفة الله بالجنة

* *Vide also Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, 1870, Part I., p. 299, note.*

† Bábú Rájendralála Mitra has a specimen (like Laidley's) of 883 خوانہ. The margin, similarly to Fath Sháh's coins, contains shamrocks separated by dots. Weight 163·65 grains.

‡ *Vide Journal, As. Socy., Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 300.*

والبرهان السلطان ابن السلطان ابن شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باريكشاہ السلطان ابن محمود شاه
السلطان خلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ بدی هذا المسجد المجالس مجلس
مجلس معظم المکرم صاحب السیف والقلم پھلوی العصر والزمان الغ
مجلس اعظم سلمہ الله تعالیٰ فی الدارین مؤرخا فی الیوم الرابع الغرة
من شهر محرم سنۃ النبی و نمانین و نمانیة و تتم بالخیر ॥

God Almighty says—‘Surely the mosques belong to God.’ Do not call on any one besides Allah. And he upon whom God’s blessing rest, says, ‘He who builds a mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built for him by God in the next world.’ This mosque was built during the reign of the king of the age, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, the viceregent of God by proof and evidence, the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! The mosque was built by the Majlis ul Majális, the great and liberal Majlis, the lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Majlis i Azam—may God Almighty protect him in both worlds !

Dated Wednesday, 1st Muhamarram, 882. Let it end well !

No. 13. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.* A. H. 884.

قال النبی ﷺ بنی الله علیہ وسلم من بنی مسجدا لله بعی الله له قصر
فی الجنة * بنی هذا المسجد فی زمان السلطان العادل الباذل شمس
الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باریک شاه السلطان بن
محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ مجلس المجالس مجلس
اعلاه الله تعالیٰ شانہ فی الدارین و كان ذالک فی التاریخ هجرة
النبی صلی الله علیہ وسلم فی يوم الجمعة عشرين شهر رجب قدره
سنة اربع و نمانین نمانیة ॥

The Prophet (may God’s blessing rest upon him !) says, ‘He who builds a mosque for God, shall have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.’ This mosque was built in the reign of the just and liberal king Shamsuddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule !—by the Majlis ul Majális, the exalted Majlis,—may God whose dignity is exalted also exalt him in both worlds ! And this took place on Friday, the 20th Rajab (may the dignity of the month increase !) of the year 884, according to the era of the flight of the Prophet, upon whom God’s blessing rest !

No. 14. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Gaur.* A.H. 885.

قال النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله
 تعالیٰ له سبعین قصرًا فی الجنة * بنی هذا المسجد فی عهد السلطان
 ابن السلطان بن السلطان باریک شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان *
 بنی هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان معظم * * بتاریخ دهم ماہ مبارک
 رمضان سنہ خمس و نمائین و نمازیۃ ||

The Prophet, &c., &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king. The mosque was built by the great Khán, the exalted Khákán, * * * * [not legible.]

Dated, the 10th day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 885. (۸۸۵)

A rubbing of another Yúsuf Sháhí Inscription has been received from Dr. J. Wise. Dr. Wise says—"The inscription is from one of the four mosques which surround the tomb of Sháh Jalál at Silhaṭ. It is a fine *Tughrá* inscription, but unfortunately one-third of it has been built into the masonry, the slab forming the lintel of the door!"

The inscription is—

No. 15. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Silhaṭ.*

**** ابو المظفر يوسف شاه ابن باریک شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه
 السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و بانی هذا المسجد المجلس الاعظم
 المعلم الدستور الساعي فی الخیرات والمبترات مجلس الاعلام حفظ الله
 تعالیٰ عن آفات ***

* * * * Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom! And the builder is the great and exalted Majlis, the wazír (*dastúr*), who exerts himself in good deeds and pious acts, Majlis i Alá—may God preserve him against the evils and * *

To judge from Dr. Wise's rubbing, the inscription, in point of beauty, ranges immediately after the Sikandar Sháh inscription No. 8, mentioned above, and it would be well, if the *Sar i gaum*, 'the head of the clan,' as the Mutawallí of the tomb is called, would take steps to have this beautiful inscription taken out of the masonry, and thus restore it to light and history.

Dr. Wise has also sent the following interesting note on Sháh Jalál.

*Note on Sháh Jalál, the patron saint of Silhat.—By DR. J. WISE,
Dñáká'.*

The following abridgment of the life and miraculous adventures of Sháh Jalál, the conqueror of Silhat in the 14th century, is taken from the Suhail-i-Yaman, written by Náṣiruddín, late Munçif of Silhat; his work was composed in the year 1859. It is an abstract of two earlier histories, one of which is called the "Risálah of Muhi-uddín Khádim;" the other, by an unknown author, is designated the "Rauzatus-Salaṭin."

According to the Munçif, Sháh Jalál Mujarrid Yamaní was the son of a distinguished saint, whose title of Shaikh ush-Shuyúkh is still preserved. He belonged to the Quraish tribe. Sháh Jalál's father was named Muhammad; his grandfather Muhammad Ibráhím. His mother was a Sayyidah. She died within three months of the birth of this her only son. His father died fighting in a *jihád* against the infidels.

The youth was adopted by his maternal uncle Sayyid Ahmad Kabír Suhrwardí, a Darwîsh of no mean accomplishments, who had studied under the renowned Sháh Jalál ud-dín Bukhári.

For thirty years Sháh Jalál is said to have lived in a cave without crossing the threshold. He was at last summoned from his seclusion by his uncle, owing to the following circumstance. One day seated in front of his house at Makkah, lost in contemplation, Sayyid Ahmad saw a doe big with young approach him. The doe related how a lion had appeared in the wood in which she lived, and was killing all her comrades. She finally requested him to come and drive away the brute. Sháh Jalál was called forth from his cave, and directed to go and turn out the lion. On the way he puzzled himself what was to be done when the lion was seen. Unexpectedly, however, he met the animal, and the lustre which shot from his eye was so dazzling, that the lion fled and was heard of no more.

On his return, Sayyid Ahmad was so pleased with his behaviour, that he gave him a handful of earth and told him to go forth and wander over the world, until he found earth of similar colour and smell. Where he did, he was there to make his abode.

Hindústán was then the land to which adventures directed their steps, and Sháh Jalál followed their example. He passed by a city of Yaman, the king of which was informed that a great Darwîsh was near. He accordingly sent a cup of deadly poison instead of sharbat, to test his power. Sháh Jalál at once divined its nature, and informed the king's messengers that the instant the draught was swallowed, the king would die. The poison was quaffed without injury to the saint, but, as foretold, the king died.

Sháh Jalál proceeded on his course, but four days afterwards he was overtaken by the Sháhzádah, who had determined on leaving his kingdom and on following the saint in his wanderings.

After journeying for many days, they arrived at Dihlí, where the celebrated Nizám-uddín Auliyá then resided. When Sháh Jalál entered the city, Nizám-uddín was sensible of the arrival of a saint. He, therefore, sent messengers to search for him and to invite him to come and eat with him. Sháh Jalál accepted the invitation and gave the messengers a bottle filled with cotton, in the centre of which he placed a live coal. The receipt of this wonderful bottle satisfied Nizám-uddín that this was no common Darwísh. He accordingly treated him with every honour, and on his departure he gave him a pair of black pigeons.

The narrative is now transferred to Silhaṭ. In a Mahallah of that city, called Tol-takar, resided at this period Shaikh Burhán-uddín. How a Muhammadan got there, or what he was doing so far away from his own countrymen, puzzles Muhibb-uddín, who thinks that this solitary believer must have belonged to some Hindú family, and that he could not have been a true Muhammadan. Burhán, the story goes, had made a vow, that if he was blessed with a son, he would sacrifice a cow. A son being born, he performed his vow; but as bad luck would have it, a kite carried off a portion of the flesh and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. The incensed Brahman went to Gaur Gobind, the king of Silhaṭ, and complained. The king sent for Burhán and the child; and on the former confessing that he had killed a cow, the child was ordered to be put to death, and the right hand of the father was cut off.

Burhán-uddín left Silhaṭ and proceeded to the court of Gaur. The king on hearing of what had occurred, ordered his nephew (*bhánjá*), Sultán Sikandar, to march at once towards the Brahmaputra and Sunnárgáoñ with an army.

When news reached Silhaṭ that an army was approaching, Gaur Gobind, who was a powerful magician, assembled a host of devils and sent them against the invaders. In the battle that ensued, the Muhammadans were routed, and Sultán Sikandar with Burhán-uddín fled. The Prince wrote to his uncle, informing him of the defeat and of the difficulties met with in waging war against such foes. The monarch on receiving the news, gathered together the astrologers, and conjurers, and ordered them to prophesy what success would attend a new campaign. Their reply was encouraging, and Naçír-uddín Sipahsálár was directed to march with a force to the assistance of Sultán Sikandar. This re-inforcement, however, did not restore courage to the Muhammadan soldiery, and it was decided to consult with Sháh Jalal, who with 360 Darwishes was waging war on his own account with the infidels. The Sultán and Naçiruddin proceeded to the camp of the saints,

where the Sháh encouraged them by repeating a certain prayer, and promised to join their army and annihilate the hitherto victorious army of devils. Along with the Sháh were Sayyid Muhammad Kabír, Sayyid Hájí Ahmad Sání, Shaikh Abul Muzaffar, Qází Amínuddín Muhammad, Sháhzádah Yamaní, &c., &c.

The advance of this army of saints was irresistible. The devils could not prevail against them, and Gaur Gobind, driven from one position to another, at last sought refuge in a seven-storied temple in Silhat, which had been built by magic. The invaders encompassed this temple, and Sháh Jalál prayed all day long. His prayers were so effective, that each day one of the stories fell in, and, on the fourth day, Gaur Gobind yielded on the promise of being allowed to leave the country.

The terms agreed to, Gaur Gobind retired to the mountains (*kohistán*). While at his protracted prayers, Sháh Jalál discovered that the earth on which he was kneeling was of the same colour and smell as that given him by the Makkah Darwîsh. He, therefore, determined on establishing his abode there. With him remained Sháhzádah Yamaní, Hájí Yúsuf, and Hájí Khalál. The rest of the saints retired with the army.

The remainder of Sháh Jalál's life was spent in devotion and in miraculous actions, which still live in the traditions of the people. It is believed that Sháh Jalál never looked on the face of woman. One day, however, standing on the bank of a stream, he saw one bathing. In his simplicity, he asked what strange creature it was. On being informed, he was enraged, and prayed that the water might rise and drown her. He had no sooner expressed this wish than the water rose and drowned her. Other less questionable actions are related regarding him. For instance, he caused the corpse of Naqír-uddín Sipahsalár, who died at Silhat, to disappear from a Mosque, while the friends were mourning over it. On another occasion he wished that a fountain like the holy Zamzam of Makkah might spring up near his abode, and immediately the fountain appeared.

Sháh Jalál was translated (*intiqál*) the 20th of the "Kali Chand," A. H., 591, in the 62nd year of his age.

Dr. Wise also writes—"It is a curious fact that the Sháh is invoked by the Silhat *gánjah* (hemp) smokers. I have got a Silhat lunatic, who every day before smoking his *chillum* of tobacco invokes the saint in the following manner :—

*Ho ! Bisheshwar Lál,
Tin láh'h Pír Sháh Jalál,
Ek bár, dubará, Jagannath jí ká piyárá
Kháne ká dídhdh bhát, bajáne ko dotárá.*

The chronology of the 'Life of Sháh Jalál,' as Dr. Wise observes, is confused. His death is put down as having occurred in 591, A.H., and he said to have visited Nizámuddín Auliá, who died in 725, A. H. Again, according to the legends still preserved in Silhat, the district was wrested from Gaur Govind, the last king of Silhat, by king Shamsuddín in 1384 A. D., or 786 A. H., during the reign of Sikandar Sháh, whilst 'king Shamsuddín' can only refer to Shamsuddin Ilyás Sháh, Sikandar's father.

Dr. Wise also draws attention to the statement made by Ibn Baṭúṭah who "from Sadkawán [Chátgáon] travelled for the mountains of Kámru [Kámruk, western Ásám]. * * His object in visiting these mountains was to meet one of the saints, namely, Shaikh Jalál uddín of Tabríz."* Jalál then gives him a garment for another saint 'Burhán uddín,' whom Ibn Baṭúṭah visits in Khánbálik (Pekin). Ibn Baṭúṭah, as remarked above, was in Eastern Bengal, when Fakhruddin was king (739 to 750, A. H.). But here again the confusion of dates and names is very great. Jalál uddín of Tabríz died, as we saw above, in 642, and the Silhat Jalál is represented as a man from Yaman.† Neither Jalál nor Burhánuddín is mentioned in the biographical works of Muhammudan Saints.

XV. Sikandar Sha'h II.

The Riyáz says that this king was the son of Yúsuf Sháh; the other histories say nothing regarding his relationship. Stewart calls him "a youth of the royal family," but afterwards calls Fath Sháh his "uncle." The Riyáz says that he was deposed on the same day on which he was raised to the throne; the Áín i Akbarí gives him half a day; my MS. of the Tabaqát, two and a half days; Firishtah mentions no time; and Stewart gives him two months.

XVI. Jala'luddi'n Abul Muzaffar Fath Sha'h, son of Mahmúd Sháh.

Fath Sháh was raised to the throne, as "Sikandar Sháh did not possess the necessary qualifications." The histories say that his reign lasted from 887 to 896, A. H., and yet, they only give him seven years and five months (Stewart, seven years and six months). The inscriptions and coins, however, given below shew that he reigned in 886; and if the "seven years and five months" are correct, Fath Sháh could only have reigned till 892 or 893, which agrees with the fact that his successor Fírúz Sháh II. issued coins in 893. Fath Sháh was murdered at the instigation of the Eunuch Bárba.

Laidley has published two silver coins of this king, of which one seems to have been struck at Fathábád in 892. The following is a new variety.‡

* Lee, Ibn Baṭúṭah, p. 195.

† Vide the Silhat Inscription of 1505, given below under Husain Sháh.

‡ The coin given by Marsden as a Fath Sháh does not belong to this king.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 8. Silver. Weight, 158·65 grains. *Fathábád*, A. H. 886. (As. Soc. of Bengal, one specimen.) Circular areas. The margin consists of ornamental designs, resembling the niches in mosques and rosettes.

جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه سلطان —
OBVERSE.—

ابن محمود شاه السلطان مسجده الله الفتح فتحabad — ٨٨٦
REVERSE.—

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abú Muzafr Fath Sháh Sultán, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God strengthen him with victory! *Fathábád*, 886.

The following five inscriptions of this king have been received by the Society—

1. *Dháká*, 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, or 2nd January, 1482.
2. *Dhámrái*, 10th Jumáda I., 887, or 27th June, 1482. Published, J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 109.
3. *Bikrampúr*, middle of Rajab, 888, or August, 1483.
4. *Sunnárgáoñ*, Muharram, 889, or beginning of A. D. 1484.
5. *Sátgáoñ*, 4th Muharram, 892, or 1st January, 1487. Published, J. A. S. B., Pt. I, 1870, p. 294.

No. 16. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Bandar, near Dháká.*

A. H. 886. (Pl. VII, No. 1.)

The Society is indebted to Dr. J. Wise for this important inscription, regarding which he writes as follows—"The inscription was found on an old Masjid at Bandar, on the banks of a K'hál called Tribeni, opposite Khizrpur (Dháká). This K'hál was in former days the junction of the Brahmaputra, Lak'hyá, and Ganges. At its opening on the left bank of the Lak'hyá, a fort still stands, said to have been built by Mír Jumlah [*vide* Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, 1872, Pt. I, p. 96]. The place called Bandar is now a mile inland (*vide* Pl. IV), but during the height of the rains, the K'hál is navigable for native boats. The inscription is the most perfect as yet met with in this District."

قال الله تعالى و آن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * قال النبي صَلَّى الله عليه و سَلَّمَ من بنى مسجداً بنى الله له قصرًا في الجنة *
بنى هذا المسجد المبارك المالك المعظم بباب صالح في زمان السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في تاريخ أول شهر ذي القعدة سنة
١٤٨٦ هـ وثمانين وثمانمائة من الهجرة النبوية ١١

God Almighty says, 'The mosques belong to God. Do not associate any one with God.' The Prophet, may God bless him!—says, 'He who builds a mosque, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.'

This auspicious mosque was built by the great **Málik Bábá Sálíh** in the reign of the king, the son of the king, **Jaláluddunyá waddín Abú Muzaffár Fáth Sháh**, son of **Mahmúd Sháh**, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—on the 1st Zil Qádah, 886, A.H. (2nd January, 1482, A.D.).

The builder of the mosque appears to have been a very pious man. Three miles west from Sunnárgáon, Dr. J. Wise discovered a mosque built by the same man, and adjoining the mosque his tomb. The masjid is within half a mile of the mosque to which the preceding inscription belongs, and was built in 911, A.H. A portion of the date of the inscription is designedly, as it would appear, chipped off.

No. 17. *The Bábá Sálíh Inscription of Sunnárgáon.*

قال الله تبارك وتعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احداً بذى هذا
المسجد المبارك في زم السلطان علاء الدين والدين ابو المظفر حسين
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه الملوك المعظم المكرم خادم النبي حاجي
الحرمين وزائر القدمين حاجي بابا صالح * * دى * * وتسعمائة من
النحوة النبوية ||

God Almighty says, &c. [as above]. This blessed mosque was built in the reign of **Sultán 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abú Muzaffár Husain Sháh**, the king,—may God perpetuate his reign!—by the great and liberal **Malik**, the servant of the Prophet, who has made a pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah and has visited the two footprints of the Prophet, **Hájí Bábá Sálíh**. Dated 9*1, A.H.

فِي سَنَةْ حَادِيْ عَشْرَ, which would be 911. A small slab let in the brick work of Baba Sálíh's tomb contains the following date of his death.

No. 18. *The Inscription on Bábá Sálíh's Tomb.*

الله لا إله هو ليجمعكم الى يوم القيمة لا ريب فيه و من اصدق من
الله حديثنا ||

* * روضة الحاجي الحرميin الزايرين القدمين خادم النبي عليه السلام
حاجي بابا صالح الم * * في تاريخ * * ربيع الاول من سنّة اثني * * *

O God! There is no God but He. He will surely collect you towards the day of resurrection, and who is more truthful a speaker than God? [Qor., IV. 89.] * * the tomb of the pilgrim to Makkah and Madinah, who has visited both footprints of the Prophet, the servant of the Prophet (upon whom be peace!), **Hájí Bábá Sálíh** * * (*almutawaffú*, who died) on ... Rabi' I., ... 2.

Thus it seems that he died in A. H. 912. Dr. Wise says—“No one here has heard of the name of this pious man. The neighbourhood of these mosques is very old. Qadam Rasúl (the ‘Footprint of the Prophet’), a famous place of pilgrimage, on a mound some sixty feet high, is a little to the north-west. Gangakol Bandar is on the west, and across the Lak’hyá River is Khizrpúr with the ruins of what I believe was the residence of ’Isá Khán, mentioned in the Aín i Akbarí.”

- A third mosque built by Bábá Sálih is in ’Azímnagar, District Dháká.

No. 19. *The Bábá Sálih’s Inscription of ’Azímnagar.*

قال النبي صلّى الله عليه و سلم عجلوا بالصراوة قبل الفوت و عجلوا
بالذوبابة قبل الموت * بني هذا المسجد المبارك الملك المعظم المكرم
بابا صالح وقد تم بناء هذا المسجد في أول المحرم سنة ٩١٠

The Prophet—may God bless him!—says, ‘Make quick the prayer before the end, and hasten the *naubat* before death. This blessed mosque was built by the exalted, liberal Malik, Bábá Sálih, and the building was completed on the first Muharram 910 [or 901,—the numbers are unclear].

No. 20. *The Fath Sháh Inscription on Ádam Shahíd’s Mosque at Bikrampúr (Dháká District). A. H. 888.*

General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise have each sent rubbings of this inscription.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النبي
صلّى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجدا في الدنيا ببني الله له مثله في
الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع الملك المعظم ملك كافور في زمان
السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان
ابن محمود شاه السلطان في تاريخ اوسط شهر رجب سنة ثمان و ثمانين
و ثمانمائة ||

God Almighty says, &c., [as above]. This Jámí’ Masjid was built by the great Malik, Malik Kálúr, in the time of the king, the son of the king, Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaaffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king, in the middle of the month of Rájab, 888, A. H. (August, 1483, A. D.)

Dr. Wise writes as follows—

‘The Masjid of Ádam Shahíd is in Bikrampúr at a village called Qází Qaçbáli, within two miles of Ballálbarí, the residence of Ballál Sen. Mr.

Taylor, in his "Topography of Dacca" states that Ádám Shahíd, or Bábá Ádám, was a Qází, who ruled over Eastern Bengal. He gives no authority for this statement, and, at the present day, the residents of the village are ignorant of this fact. They relate that Bábá Ádám was a very powerful Darwîsh, who came to this part of the country with an army during the reign of Ballál Sen. Having encamped his army near 'Abdullahpúr, a village about three miles to the N. E., he caused pieces of cow's flesh to be thrown within the walls of the Hindú prince's fortress. Ballál Sen was very irate, and sent messengers throughout the country to find out by whom the cow had been slaughtered. One of the messengers shortly returned and informed him that a foreign army was at hand, and that the leader was then praying within a few miles of the palace. Ballál Sen at once galloped to the spot, found Bábá Ádám still praying, and at one blow cut off his head.

' Such is the story told by the Muhammadans of the present day, regardless of dates and well-authenticated facts.

' The Masjid of Bábá Ádám has been a very beautiful structure, but it is now fast falling to pieces. Originally, there were six domes, but three have fallen in. The walls are ornamented with bricks beautifully cut in the form of flowers and of intricate patterns. The arches of the domes spring from two sandstone pillars, 20 inches in diameter, evidently of Hindú workmanship. These pillars are eight-sided at the base, but about four feet from the ground they become sixteen-sided. The *mihrábs* are nicely ornamented with varied patterns of flowers, and in the centre of each is the representation of a chain supporting an oblong frame, in which a flower is cut.

' The style of this Masjid is very similar to that of the old Goáldih Masjid at Sunnárgáoñ and to that of 'Isá Khán's Masjid at Khízrpúr.*

No. 21. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Sunnárgáoñ.* A. H. 889.

General Cunningham has sent a rubbing of the following inscription—

قال اللہ تعالیٰ و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * و قال النبي ﷺ
 صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم من بنی مسجدنا بنی الله له سبعین قصرًا فی
 الجنة * بنی هذا المسجد فی عهد السلطان الاعظم المعظّم جلال الدنیا

* Dr. Wise, in one of his letters addressed to the Society, makes the following remark on Sher Sháh's road from the Brahmaputra to the Indus.

" I see in the last volume of Elliot's 'History of India' that doubts are expressed of there ever having been a road made from Sunnárgáoñ to the Indus by Shér Sháh, as mentioned by Firishtah and others. In this district there are two very old bridges, which local tradition states were constructed by that monarch, and which lie exactly where such a road would have been. One is still used, the other has fallen in."

وَالدِّينِ ابْوَا مُظْفَرٍ فَتَحَ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهَ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهَ
مَالِكَهُ وَسُلْطَانَهُ * بَانِيَ الْمَسْجِدِ مَقْرُبَ الدُّولَةِ مَلَكٌ الدِّينِ سَاطَانِي
جَامِدَارِ غَيْرِ مَحْلَّيِ وَسَرْلَشَكَرُ وَوزِيرِ اقْلِيمِ مَعْظَمَابَادَ وَنِيزِ مَشْهُورِ مُحَمَّدَابَادَ وَ
سَرْلَشَكَرِ تَهَانَهُ لَارَدَ وَ كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيخِ مِنَ الْمُحَرَّمِ سَنَةِ تَسْعَ وَ ثَمَانِينَ
وَ ثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ॥

God Almighty says, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., (as before).

This mosque was built during the reign of the great and exalted king, J alá-l-
uddín waddín Abú Muzaaffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Ma-h-
múd Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! The builder of
the mosque is Muqarrab uddaulah, Malik.....uddín, the Royal, keeper of the wardrobe
outside the Palace, the commander and wazír of the territory of Mu'azzam-
ábád, also known as Ma hm ú d á b á d, and commander of Thánah Láwúd.
This took place during Muharram, 889. (A. D. 1484.)

The geographical names occurring in this inscription have been discussed
above.

THE HABSHI' KINGS.

The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Bárbak Sháh had introduced
into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the
kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country. The very
names of the actors during the interregnum between the end of the Ilyás
Sháh dynasty and the commencement of the house of Husain Sháh, proclaim
them to have been Abyssinian eunuchs ;* and what royalty at that time
was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazl, who says that, after the
murder of Fath Sháh, low hirelings flourished ;† and Firishtah sarcastically
remarks that the people would only obey him who had killed a king and
usurped the throne. Faria y Souza also says of the kings of that time :—

"They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves
sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days
they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that
in 40 years' space they had 13 kings successively."

* Names as Kásfur (camphor), Qaranful (clove), Fírúz and Fírúzah (turquoise),
Almás (diamond), Yáqút (cornelian), Habshí Khán, Indíl, Sídí Badr, &c. Camphor
was looked upon as an anti-aphrodisiac (*vide* my Áin translation, p. 385); hence the
name was appropriate. The Fath Sháh inscription No. 20 mentions a Malik Káfür;
and we are reminded of the Káfür Hazárdiúrí of 'Aláuddín's reign.

† 'The kings of Bengala, in times past, were chosen of the Abassine or Æthio-
pian slaves, as the Soldans of Cairo were some time of the Circassian Mamalukes.'
Purchas.

The Habshí kings are Sultán Sháhzádah, Fírúz Sháh, and Muzaffar Sháh. Mahmúd Sháh II. appears to belong to the old dynasty.

XVII. Sulta'n Sha'hzádah.

(Bárba'r, the Eunuch.)

The owner of this odd title reigned either two and a half months (Tabaqát and Fírishtah), or perhaps eight months (Fírishtah), or according to a pamphlet which the author of the Riyáz possessed, six months. He was murdered by

XVIII. Saifuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Fi'rúz Sha'h (II.).

(Malik Indíl Habshí.)

He had been a distinguished commander under Fath Sháh, and proved a good king. According to the histories, he died a natural death after a reign of three years, in 899,—a wrong date. The Riyáz says that a mosque, a tower, and a reservoir, in Gaur were built by him.

The coin published by Marsden as belonging to this king, has been shewn by Mr. Thomas to belong to Fírúz Sháh Bahmaní.

The following passage from João de Barros refers to either this king or Husain Sháh:—

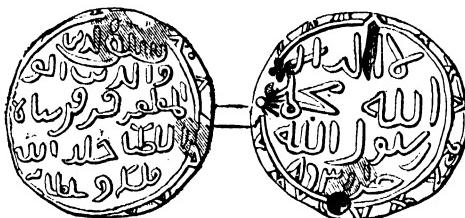
'One hundred years before the Portuguese visited Chátgáon, a noble Arab arrived there from 'Adan (Aden), bringing with him 200 men. Seeing the state of the kingdom, he began to form ambitious projects of conquest. Dissimulating his intentions, he set himself up as a commercial agent, and on this pretext added to his followers a reinforcement of 300 Arabs, thus raising his total force to 500 men. Having succeeded through the influence of the *Mandarijs*, who were the governors of the place, in procuring an introduction to the king of Bengal, he assisted that monarch in subduing the king of Orísá, his hereditary foe. For this service he was promoted to the command of the King's body-guard. Soon afterwards he killed the king, and himself ascended the throne. The capital was at this time at Gaur.'

The chronology of Fírúz Sháh II.'s reign may be fixed with the help of the following, apparently unique, coin, the original of which is in the British Museum. Col. Guthrie kindly sent the Society a cast, from which the woodcut below has been made. The coin gives the year 893 (A. D., 1488). This year entirely agrees with the ascertained dates of Jaláluddín Fath Sháh's reign, and with the earliest ascertained year of Muzaffar Sháh. Fírúz Sháh II., therefore, reigned from 893 to 895, or 896. The former, 895, is perhaps preferable to 896, because both Mahmúd Sháh and Muzaffar Sháh reigned in 896.

I. Fírúz Sháh II. Silver. No mint town. A. H., 893. (A. D. 1488.) No margins.

بِيْف الدِّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ ابُو الْمُظْهَرْ فِيروز شَاهُ السُّلْطَانُ خَلَدُ اللَّهِ مُلَكُه
وَسُلْطَانُه

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ خَرَازَهُ ٨٩٣



Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of God. Treasury issue of 893.

XIX. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muja'hid Mahmu'd Sha'h (II).

He was raised to the throne on Fírúz Sháh's death, though the government was in the hands of one Habshí Khán. After a short time, Habshí Khán, and immediately after, Mahmúd Sháh, were killed by Sidi Badr Díwánah, who proclaimed himself king.

Though the histories call Mahmúd the son of Fírúz Sháh, there is little doubt that the statement of Hájí Muhammad Qandahári, preserved by Firishtah, is correct—"In the history by Hájí Muhammad Qandahári,* it is written that Sultán Mahmúd was the son of Fath Sháh, and that Habshí Khán was a eunuch of Bárba Sháh, who by Fírúz Sháh's orders had brought up Mahmúd. After Fírúz Sháh's death, Mahmúd was placed on the throne; but when six months had passed, Habshí Khán shewed inclination to make himself king, and Sidi Badr killed him." These facts agree well with the following circumstances: *First*, all histories say that Fath Sháh, at his death, left a son two years old, and his mother, at Sultán Sháhzádah's death, declared herself willing to leave the throne to him, who had brought her husband's murderer to account. *Secondly*, according to Muhammadan custom, children often receive the names of the grandfather; hence Fath Sháh would call his son Náciruddín Mahmúd; but as the *kunyah* must be different, we have here 'Abul Mujáhid,' while the grandfather has 'Abul Muzaffar.'

General Cunningham found the following inscription of this king, in Gaur; unfortunately, the date is illegible.

* The Lak'hna edition of Firishtah calls him 'Hájí Mahmúd.' His historical work is not known at the present day.

No. 22. *The Mahmúd Sháh (II) Inscription of Gaur.* (A. H. 896?)
(Pl. VII, No. 3.)

قال النبى صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم من بنی مسجدنا لله بنی اللہ له قصرا
فی الجدّة * بنی المسجد فی عهد سلطان الزمان بالعدل والاحسان غوث
الاسلام والمسلمین ناصر الدنیا والدین ابوالمجاہد محمود شاه السلطان
خلمہ اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ بنی المسجد الکائن الاعظم المعظم الغ مجلس
 Khan ** فی التاریخ الثالث والعشرين من شهر ربیع الا [ول سنه ست
و تسعین و نمازماهیة ؟]

The Prophet (may God bless him !) says, 'He who builds, &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the time, (who is endowed) with justice and liberality, the help of Islám and the Muslims, Náṣiruddunyá waddín Abú Mujaahid Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the great and exalted Khán Ulugh Majlis Khán.....(illegible). Dated, 23rd Rabi'.....

Marsden has published a silver coin of this king, which has likewise no date (*vide* Numism., Pl. XXXVI, No. DCCXXIV); but, as Laidley correctly observes, he ascribes it wrongly to Mahmúd Sháh of Dihlí. The legend of the coin is—

المؤید بنایید الرحمن خلیفة الله بالعدل والاحسان (?)
السلطان العادل ناصر الدنیا والدین ابو المجاہد محمود شاه
السلطان

The words *bil'adl wal-ihsán* are not clear, they may also be *والعصر والزمان*, as elsewhere suggested by me; but the former coincides with the phrase used in the inscription. I cannot see the word *فتحیاد*, which Laidley gives.

According to the chronological remarks made by me regarding the reign of Firúz Sháh, we have to place Mahmúd Sháh's reign in 896, A. H.

XX. Shamsuddín Abul-Nasr Muzaffar Sháh. (Sídi Badr Diwánah.)

The reign of this king, who is represented to have been a blood-thirsty monster, is said in all histories to have lasted three years and five months; but his death at the hands of the next king cannot have taken place in 903, because his coins and inscriptions mention the years 896 and 898. He must, therefore, have been killed in 899, the first year in which Husain Sháh struck coins.

A Muzaffar Sháh inscription was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 107, from an imperfect rubbing. Since then Mr. W. M. Bourke

has sent me a clear rubbing with the date distinct. I, therefore, republish it with a corrected translation.

No. 23. *The Muzaffar Sháh Inscription of Gangarámpúr.*

A. H. 896. (A. D. 1491.)

بني هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد المخدوم المشهور قطب اوليا مخدوم
مولانا عطا طيب الله ثراه وجعل الجنة مثواه في عهد شمس الدنيا
والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في التاريخ
ست و تسعين و ثمانيه ||

This mosque was built in the time (?) of the renowned saint, Mauláná 'Atá—may God render his grave pleasant and may He make Paradise his dwelling place!—during the reign of Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul-Naqr Muzaffar Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Dated, A. H. 896.

Mr. Bourke's rubbing shews that the word *samánníyah* is cut into the second bar, which separates the third line from the second. Below the last line there is another line cut into the lowest bar; but the letters are too small and partly broken to admit of a satisfactory reading. I can recognize the words 'Mullá Mubárak' and *mí'már*, 'builder.'

Laidley has published a silver coin of this king, the legend of which is (*vide* J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, for 1846, Pl. V, No. 19)—

شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه—
OBVERSE.—
وسلطانه

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—The Kalimah. Year, illegible.

Margin—the four Khalifahs.

The Honorable E. C. Bayley is about to publish a gold Muzaffar Sháhí, which seems to be of 896, A. H.

Muzaffar Sháh, according to the Riyáz, built a mosque in Gaur. General Cunningham has sent the Society a rubbing of another inscription from the Chhotá Dargáh (Núr Quṭb 'Alám's Dargáh) in Hazrat Panduah. It is, in point of execution, a very fine inscription.

No. 24. *The Muzaffar Sháh Inscription of Panduah.* A. H. 898.

Vide Pl. VI, No. 2.

قال الله تعالى ان اول بيت وضع للناس للذى بركة مباركا و هدى
لعالمين فيه آيات بيدعات مقام ابراهيم ومن دخله كان آمنا ولله علي
الناس حج البيت من استطاع اليه سبلا و من كفر فان الله غذى

عن العالمين * بذني في البيت الصوفية الروضة قطب الأقطاب قدّيل
 محبّت وَهَاب شيخ المشايخ حضرت نور الحق والشرع سيد قطب عالم
 قدس الله سرّ العزيز و نور الله قبره * بذني هذا البيت في عهد السلطان
 العادل الباقل الغاضل غوث الاسلام والمسلمين شمس الدنيا والدين
 ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلى امرة و شأنه
 بذني هذا البيت في خلافة شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين شيخ المشايخ ابن شيخ
 المشايخ شيخ محمد غوث سلمه الله تعالى دائمًا مورخا في المسجع والعشر
 من شهر رمضان مبارك في سنة ثمان تسعين ثمائة ||

God Almighty says, ‘Verily, the first house that was founded for men, is the one in Bakkah [Makkah], blessed, and a guidance to all beings. In it are clear signs: the place of Abraham, and who entered into it, was safe, and God enjoined men to visit it, if they are able to go there; but whosoever disbelieves, verily God is independent of all beings. [Qor. III, 90 to 92.]

In this Sufi building the tomb of the pole (*qutub*) of poles was built, who was slain by the love of the All-Giver, the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Hazrat Núrúl Házrashára', Sayyid Qutb 'Alam—may God sanctify his beloved secret, and may God illuminate his grave! This house was built in the reign of the just, liberal, learned king, the help of Islám and the Muslims, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul-Naqr Muza'far Sháh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and may He elevate his condition and dignity! This house was built during the *khiláfat** of the Shaikh ul-Islám, the Shaikh of Shaikhs, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Muhammad Gháus—may God Almighty ever protect him!

Dated, 17th Ramazán, 898. [2nd July, 1493.]

Núr Qutb 'Alam was mentioned above among the Saints of Panjab.

THE HUSAINÍ DYNASTY.

On Muzaffar Sháh's death in 899, 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf, usurped the throne. Of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 10th century—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends and remain even unrecognized in the geographical names of the country, the name of “Husain Shah, the good,” is still remembered from the frontiers of Orísa to the Brahmaputra.

I have treated of the chronology of the reigns of Husain Sháh and his successors in my article, “On a new king of Bengal, &c.,” published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, pp. 331 to 340, and according to that paper, we have—

* The reiga, if I may say so, of a spiritual teacher.

1. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, 899 to 927 (929 ?).
2. Náciruddín Abul Muzaffar Nuqrat Sháh, 927 (929 ?) to 939.
3. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh (III.), 939.
4. Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III.), 940 to 944, (defeated by Sher Sháh).

I have now only to describe a few unpublished coins and to give several new inscriptions belonging to the reigns of these kings.

XXI. 'Ala'uddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh.

Marsden (Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. DCCLXXIX and DCCXCIII) has given two different Husain Sháhís, the former of Fathábád, 899, A. H., and the latter of Husainábád, 914, A. H.* Laidley has two new types, one struck at Husainábád, 912, A. H., and the other (*vide* his plate, No. 21) resembling that of Marsden, but with a different legend. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society contains a few new varieties, with and without dates.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 9. Silver. Weight, 163·57 grains. No mint-town. A. H. 900. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Circular areas; no margin.

السلطان العادل علاء الدين ابو المظفر.—
OBVERSE.

حسين شاه سلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خاد ملكه و سلطانه ٩٠٠—
REVERSE.

Col. Guthrie in a MS. list of Bengal Coins in the British Museum quotes Husain Sháhís struck at Jannatábád (Husainábád ?) in 918 and 919.

The inscriptions belonging to Husain Sháh's reign are most numerous; the date of the latest two is 925, A.H. Those of which the Society has received rubbings from General Cunningham are marked [G. C.].

1. *Munger*, 903; mentions Prince Dányál. Published Journal, 1872, p. 335. [G. C.].
2. *Machain, Parganah Ballípúr, Dháká*, 22nd Jumáda I, 907, or 3rd December, 1501. Received from Dr. J. Wise.
3. *Bonhara*, in Bilár, 908. Published, Proceedings 1870, p. 112.
4. *Cheran*, in Bilár, 909. Published, Proceedings 1870, p. 297.†

* Marsden reads the latter date 917. On the former coin, the king's first name is spelt علاء الدين, instead of علاء الدين, with an intermediate *wáw*. This *wáw* should not be read: it arises from a whimsical rule of a class of pedantic Kátibs who maintain that the vowel *u* after a long *á*, as in '*Aláu*', requires "a support."

The obverse of the latter coin, to which I alluded in the note to p. 301 of the Journal for 1870, Pt. I, is still a puzzle to me, though I have wasted much time in looking at the coin, patiently waiting for a happy guess. I now believe that the second line is الْقَائِمُ بِسَلْطَانِهِ *alqáim bisalṭanatihi*, the last word being written disconnected, as *sulṭánu* on the reverse. But the third line is unclear. The weight of the coin is 162·64 grains.

† For a Gaur Inscription of 909, *vide* Glazier, Report on Rangpore, 1873, p. 108.

5. *Silhat*, 911. From Dr. Wise.
6. *Máldah*, 911. [G. C.]
7. *Sunnárgáon*, 911. Given above, No. 17.
8. *Hazrat Panduah*, 915. [G. C.]. The rubbing is unclear.
- 9 to 11. *Gaur*, two of 916, and one of 918. [G. C.]
12. *Sunnárgáon*, 2nd Rabí II, 919, or 7th June, 1513. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 333.
13. *Bírbhám*, 922. Published, Journal, 1861, p. 390.
14. *Dhámráí*, 922. Published, Journal, 1872, p. 110.
15. *Sunnárgáon*, 15th Sha'bán, 925, or 12th August, 1519. [G. C.]
16. *Gaur*, 925, or A. D. 1519. Published with plate, J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I, p. 256.

No. 25. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Machain*. (A. H. 907.)

قال الذي يهلي الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجداً له بنى الله له
بيتنا مذاته في الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد الجامع للسلطان المعمظ المكرم علاء
الدبيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه في الثاني والعشرين من جمادي الاول سنة
سبعين و تسعمائة ||

The Prophet says, &c., &c. (as before). This Jámí' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Aláuddín waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!

Dated, 22nd Jumada I, 907. (3rd December, 1501).

No. 26. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Silhat*. A. H. 911.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * الامر بهذه العمارة البقة المباركة المذصوبة بدار
الاحسان حرم الله تعالى من مخافة الزمان العابد العالى الكبير * * شيخ
جلال مجرد كنيابي قدس الله تعالى سره العزيز في عهد السلطان علاء
الدبيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملکه و سلطانه بنا كرد
خان اعظم و خقام عظم خاصخان جامدار غير محلی و سولشكرو و زیر اقلیم
معظم آباد سده احدي عشر و تسعمائة ||

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement! He who ordered the erection of this blessed building, attached to the house of benefit (Silhat)—may God protect it against the ravages of time!—is the devotee, the high, the great, * * * Shaikh Jalál, the hermit, of Kanya—may God Almighty sanctify his dear secret! It was built during the reign of Sultan 'Aláuddín waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Shah, the king, by the great Khán, the exalted Khaqán, Kháiq Khán,

keeper of the wardrobe outside the palace, commander and wazír of the District Mu'azzamúbád. In the year 911 (A. D. 1505.).

In this inscription Shaikh Jalál, whose biography was given under Yúsuf Sháh, is called Kanyáí, i. e. of Kanyá, which appears to be a place in Arabia.

He is said to have 'ordered' the erection of the building. This can only refer to an order given in a dream, as in the case of 'Alí Sháh and Jalál Tabrízí.

No. 27. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Máládah.* A. H. 911.

قال النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم من بنی مسجدنا لله بنی اللہ له
بینا مثله فی الجنة * بنی هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المکرم علاء
الدنیا والدین ابو المظفر حسین شاه السلطان بن سید اشرف الحسینی
خلد اللہ ملکه و سلطانه فی سنة احدی عشر و تسعماية ॥

The Prophet says, &c., &c. This Jámí' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! In the year 911. (A. D. 1505).

No. 28. *A Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

قد بنی هذا الباب الروضة مخدوم شیخ اخي سراج الدین السلطان
المعظم المکرم علاؤ الدنیا والدین ابو المظفر حسین شاه السلطان بن سید
اشرف الحسینی خلد اللہ ملکه و سلطانه فی سنة ست عشر و تسعماية ॥

The door of the tomb of the venerated Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín was built by the great and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510.)

Shaikh Akhí was mentioned above among the saints of Gaur.

No. 29. *Another Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

بنی هذا الباب الروضة فی عهد السلطان المعظم المکرم علاؤ الدنیا
والدین ابو المظفر حسین شاه السلطان بن سید اشرف الحسینی خلد اللہ
ملکه و سلطانه و اعلى امراه و شاده و اعز خیارة و برهانه فی سنة ست
عشرو تسعماية ॥

The door of this tomb was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'far Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity, and may He render his benefits and evidence honorable! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510.)

No. 30. *A third Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 918.

بَنَى هَذَا الْبَابُ الْكَصْنَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُعْظَمِ الْمُكْوَمِ عَلَوَ الدُّنْيَا
وَالَّذِينَ أَبْوَ الْمَظْفُرِ حَسَيْنِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ سَيِّدِ اشْرَفِ الْحَسِينِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ
مَلْكَهُ وَسُلْطَانَهُ فِي سَنَةِ تُمَانَ عَشَرَ وَتِسْعَمِائَةِ ||

This gate of the Fort was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'far Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918. (A. D. 1512.)

No. 31. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Sunnárgáon.* A. H. 925.

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ
بِالصَّوَابِ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنَى الْمَسَاجِدِ فِي الدُّنْيَا
بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ سَبْعِينَ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَهَنَّمَ * بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسَاجِدَ فِي عَهْدِ
سُلْطَانِ السُّلَطَانِينَ سُلْطَانِ حَسَيْنِ شَاهِ بْنِ سَيِّدِ اشْرَفِ الْحَسِينِيِّ خَلَدَ مَلْكَهُ
وَسُلْطَانَهُ * بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسَاجِدَ مَلَّا هُزُورٌ أَكْبَرُ خَانٌ بَتَارِيخٍ پَانِزَدَهُمْ مَاهُ شَعْبَانَ
سَنَةُ خَمْسٍ وَعَشْرِينَ وَتِسْعَمِائَةِ ||

God Almighty says, Surely the mosques, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., &c., (as before).

This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the kings, Sultán Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! This mosque was built by Mullá Hizábr Akbar Khán, on the 15th Sha'bán, 925. (12th August, 1519.)

XXII. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Sha'h.

Of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king, I have published three, *viz.*—

1. *Sunnárgáon*, 929, or 1523. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338.

2. *Sátgáon*, Ramazán, 936, or May, 1520. Published, Journal, 1870, p. 298.

3. *Gaur*, Qadam Rasúl, 937, or 1530-31. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338. *Vide* Glazier, Rangpore Report, p. 108.

A few weeks ago I received a black basalt slab from the old mosque in Mangalkot, Bardwán District, with the following inscription—

No. 32. *The Nuqrat Sháh Inscription from Mangalkot*. A. H. 930.

قال النبي صلی الله علیه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله ببني الله له بيتنا مثله في الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان المعظم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه وبانيه خان ميانمعظم بن مراد حيدر خان دام عزه في سنة ثلاثين و تسعمائة ॥

The Prophet says, He who builds, &c., (as before). This Jámí' Mosque was built in the reign of the exalted king, who is the son of a king, Náqiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Nuqrat Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! Its builder is Khán Miyán Muazzam, son of Murád Haidar Khán—may his honor continue! In the year 930, A. H. (A. D. 1524.)

The following important inscription I owe to the kindness of J. R. Reid, Esq., C. S., A'zamgarh, N. W. Provinces, who sent me a rubbing. The slab was found on the right bank of the G'hágrá, near Sikandarpur.

No. 33. *The Nuqrat Sháh Inscription of Sikandarpur, A'zamgarh*.
A. H. 933.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله قال النبي صلی الله علیه وسلم من بني مسجدا في الدنيا ببني الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * المتأسس لهذا المسجد في عهد الملك العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرشاه بن حسين شاه السلطان جعل الله في زمرة عبادة اگرمجید و هو خاذاعظم مختار خان سرشکر دره خوبك في شهر الرجب ٢٧ سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين و تسعمائة ॥

There is no God, &c. He who builds a mosque, &c. The founder of the mosque, during the reign of the just king Náqiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Nuqrat Sháh, son of Husain Sháh, the king—may God place him among the number of his servants!—is the great Ulur [Ulugh], i. e. the great Khán....., Khán, commander of the district of Kharíd. On the 27th Rajab 933. (29th April, 1527.)

The inscription confirms the histories, according to which Nuṣrat Sháh extended his authority over the whole of Northern Bihar; and as Kharíd lies on the right bank of the Ghágrá, Nuṣrat Sháh must have temporarily held sway in the A'zamgáñ District.

The coinage of this king contains numerous varieties, among which there are several struck by him during the lifetime of his father. The latter coins are mostly of a rude type, and look debased; besides, they are restricted to the Sundarban mint town of Khalisatábád (Bágherhát) and to Fathábád. They either indicate an extraordinary delegation of power or point to a successful rebellion.

1. *Vide Pl. IX., No. 10.* Silver. Weight, 154·06 grains. *Khalisatábád*, 922, A. H. (As. Soc. of Bengal). Circular areas; no margin.

السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر—
OBVERSE.—

نصرة شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد ملكه
REVERSE.—
خلد عباد ٩٢٢

3. *Vide Pl. IX., No. 11.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 163·14 grains. *Mint town?* A. H., 927. (Cabinet, As. Soc. of Bengal.) Circular areas; no margin.

السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر—
OBVERSE.—

نصرة شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
REVERSE.—
و سلطانه ٩٢٧

3. *Vide Pl. IX., No. 12.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 162·952 grains. No mint town, or year. Circular areas, and scollops in the margin. The characters are neat. (As. Soc. Bengal.)

OBVERSE.—As in the preceding.

نصرة شاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملكه [يد هرمزد] ٤
REVERSE.—

I am doubtful as to the correctness of the last words *yad i Hurmuzd*, 'by the hand (engraved by) Hurmuzd.' The characters, though smaller, are clear, and yet it is difficult to suggest anything else.

The years of the three Nuṣrat Sháhís published by Marsden and Laidley are not clear; they may be 924 (Marsden) and 927, or 934 and 927. The Cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal, besides the above, contains six different types, among which there is a silver coin struck at *Nuṣratábád*, 924 A. H., but it is not clear to what locality this new name was applied.

Nuṣrat Sháh's name as prince seems to have been Naṣíb Khán; at last this would explain why the histories call him Naṣíb Sháh.

He was succeeded by his son

XXIII. 'Ala'uddín Abul Muzaaffar Fi'rúz Sha'h (III).

The Kalnah inscription (A. H. 939) of this king, which I published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, p. 332, is of some importance, and I now give a plate of it (*vide Pl. VII, No. 2*). The name of this king is only

mentioned in the Riyáz, and though we do not know his source, his statements have, in several instances, been proved to be correct. In the MS. of his work in the As. Soc. of Bengal—the only copy I know of at present—this king is said to have reigned three *years*, which is impossible,* but Stewart found three *months* in the copy which he consulted.

The Society's cabinet possesses a specimen of this king's coinage, struck in 939, A. H., the same year as mentioned in the Kalnah inscription.

1. *Vide Pl. IX., No. 13.* Silver. Weight, 163·215 grains. *Husain-ābád*, 939, A. H. Circular areas. The margins are divided into four quadrants, at the beginning of each of which there is the letter *nún*, and in each quadrant there is an arabesque, which looks like the word *نصر*. The same design is given on Marsden's Nuqrat Sháh.

السلطان بن السلطان بن علاؤ الدین ابو المظفر فیروز شاه — OBVERSE.—

بن نصر شاه السلطان بن حسین شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه — REVERSE.—

حسینیاباد ۹۳۹

Fírúz Sháh III. was murdered by his uncle

XXIV. Ghiya's-uddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mahmu'd Sha'h (III).

General Cunningham's Gaur Inscription of this king, dated 941, was published by me in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I., p. 339.

Our Society possesses a coin of Mahmúd Sháh of the same type as the one published by Laidley. He refers the coin to 933; but the Society's specimen has clearly 943 A. H. The concentric circles contain the words *badr i sháhi*, or 'royal moon.'

General Cunningham lately sent me the tracing of a Mahmúd Sháhí round copper coin, which has the same inscription on both sides, viz. العید غیاث الدین محمود شاه البدرشاهی. But though the phrase *badr i sháhi* seems to shew that the coin belongs to Mahmúd Sháh (III.) of Bengal, it would be desirable to have specimens with dates or mint towns.

Mahmúd Sháh is mentioned in De Barros' work, from which the following facts are taken. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor of Goa [گووا], sent in 1534 Alfonso de Mello with two hundred men in five ships to Chátgáon, which then again belonged to Bengal, in order to effect a settlement. De Mello, on his arrival, thought it wise to send a few of his men with presents to Gaur, where Mahmúd Sháh, who tyrannically held the crown, kept his court, in great apprehension of being deposed, but with such state that only his women amounted to the number of 10,000; but though De Mello's men found in Alfá Khán† a friend, the king imprisoned them,

* The passage, however, is corrupt. *Vide Journal for 1872, Pt. I., p. 339.*

† This is, no doubt, the Alfá Husainí of Baghdád, mentioned by me in J. A. S. B. 1872, Pt. I., p. 337.

and gave orders to seize De Mello in Chátgáon. The latter was shortly after treacherously captured with thirty of his men and was sent to Gaur,* where they were kept strictly confined, because Antony de Sylva Meneses had soon after taken reprisals and sacked Chátgáon. Now at that time Sher Khán and his brother 'Adil Khán had deserted from the Mughul to the king of Bengal. But Sher Khán wished to revenge the death of the youth whom Mahmúd had slain,—De Barros means Fírúz Sháh III.—to procure the throne. Sher Khán, therefore, made war on Mahmúd, and the king asked his Portuguese prisoners to assist him in the defence of Gaur. At the same time Rabelo arrived with three ships sent by the Goa Governor, to demand the release of the captives, and Mahmúd after securing their co-operation sent them to Gorij [Garghí] near K'halgáon, where they valiantly, though in vain, opposed Sher Sháh. Mahmúd, pleased with their prowess, applied to Nuno da Cunha for further assistance; but when Perez de Sampayo came with nine vessels, he found Gaur in the hands of Sher Khán and heard that Mahmúd had been killed.

III.

I now conclude this essay with my readings and translations of the Bihár collection of rubbings from the time of Muhammad Tughluq to the year 1455 A. D.

The first inscription is taken from the vault of one Sayyid Ahmad Pír-Pahár, regarding whom nothing is at present known in Bihár; but it seems to refer to the building of a portico by a near relation of Muhammad Tughluq.

No. 34. *The Muhammad Tughluq Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 737.

حمد گویم خدایرا صد بار م—ح و افر باحمد مختار
 شـد بنا گنبد فلک آسمـا
 گـیـتی آرا مـحمد صـفـدر مـایـه اـیـزـدـی بهـر کـشـورـ
 بـواـمـجـاهـدـ خـلـیـفـةـ بـاجـاءـ
 بـانـی اـینـ عـمـارـةـ المـقـصـودـ هـسـتـ بـنـهـهـ مـبـارـکـ مـحـمـودـ
 دـوـدـهـ خـسـرـوـیـ نـبـیرـوـ شـاهـ
 بـودـهـ اـینـ دـولـتـ اـزـ سـرـافـرـازـیـ يـادـ کـارـ سـبـکـنـگـیـنـ غـازـیـ
 چـونـ مـرـتـبـ شـدـ اـینـ * * هـفـصـدـ وـ سـیـ وـ هـفـتـ بدـ گـفـتمـ

* The Portuguese describe Gaur as three leagues in length, well fortified, and with wide and straight streets, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people, "which sometimes is in such numbers that some are trod to death."

1. I praise God a hundred times, and abundantly glorify Ahmad, the elect.
2. This heaven-touching portico was erected.....
3. The world-adorning Muhammad, who breaks through the ranks, the shadow of God in every realm,
4. Abu'l Mujahid, the Khalifah of high dignity,.....
5. The builder of this desirable edifice is the slave Mubarak Mahmud,
6. Of royal descent, the grandson of Shahi.
7. This dynasty, on account of its elevation, has obscured the memory of Subuktigin i Ghazi.

When this...was erected, I said, it was 737, A. H. (A. D., 1336-37.)

If the name in the sixth line were not broken away, we might fix the name of the builder with the help of p. 454 of Barani's history.

Nos. 35 to 37. *The Malik Ibrâhim Bayyû Inscriptions of Bihâr.*

The next three inscriptions belong to the Dargâh of Ibrâhim Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû, who is *par excellence* the saint of Bihâr. The shrine lies on the hill to the north-west of the town.

Malik Bayyû was first mentioned by Buchanan, who supposed him to be a purely mythological personage. Mr. T. W. Beale next published in his valuable *Miftâh uttarârikh* (p. 90) the first of the following inscriptions. Col. E. T. Dalton also mentions him in his 'Ethnology of Bengal' (p. 211), and says that Jangrá, a Santál Râjah, destroyed himself and his family in the Fort of Chai Champâ, Hazâribâgh District, when he heard of Malik Bayyû's approach.

The 'Mujâwirs' or custodians, of the shrine claim to be descended from the Malik. According to traditions still preserved among them, Ibrâhim Malik Bayyû was an inhabitant of Butnagar, and was sent by Muhammad Tughluq to chastise Hâns Kumâr, Râjah of Rohtâsgâr. The Râjah frequently came to Bargaoñ, the great Buddhist monastery, to worship. He oppressed the poor Muhammadans of the country. Now it happened that an old woman, a Sayyidah, killed a cow, in order to celebrate the nuptials of her grandson, when a kite snatched up one of the bones, and let it fall near the place where the Râjah worshipped. The Râjah was, of course, enraged, and put the Muhammadan bridegroom to death. At the advice of her friends, the old woman complained to Muhammad Tughluq. Being uncertain as to whom he should intrust with the command of an expedition against Hâns Kumâr, he consulted the astrologers. They told him, "This very night a storm will occur in the city, of such violence that all the lights will be extinguished. In whose house a lamp may be found burning, he is the man best fitted for the undertaking." Ibrâhim Malik Bayyû was found reading the Qurân by lamp-light, and next morning he was appointed to command the expedition. He at once advanced to Bihâr, and surprised Râjah Hâns Kumâr at the Sûraj Pokhar, Bargaoñ. Although the Rajah

escaped to Rohásgarh, the number of the slain was so great, that Malik Bayyú returned with fifty sers weight of sacred threads. He now occupied himself in subduing the warlike tribes of the province, and unfortunately fell at the moment of victory, his enemy Rájah Hán Kumár having been killed in the same battle. Malik Bayyú's body was brought to Bihár; and the Rájah's head and the sacred threads were buried at the foot of the hill, which still bears the name of Múnd-málá.

According to the inscriptions on Malik Bayyú's shrine, he died, apparently peacefully, on the 13th Zil Hijjah, 753, or 20th January, 1353, in the second year of Fírúz Sháh's reign and about a year before his invasion of Bengal.

No. 35.

بعد دولت شاه جهانگیر که بادا در بهار ملک نوروز
شهرنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان که بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
ملک سیرت ملک بیو براہیم که بد در دین چو ابراہیم کین تور
بما ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر بدست چون سیزده از مردم روز
پنجت هفتصد و پنجمه متاریخ مسافر شد ملک در جنت این روز
خداآندا بفضل خویش بروی کذی آسان حساب آخرین روز

1. In the time of the reign of the world-taking Sháh (may the *mulk i naurúz* be in Bihár !),
2. The king of the world, Sultán Fírúz, who was victorious over the kings of the Universe,
3. The angelic Malik Bayyú Ibráhím, who in his faith was as zealous as Abraham,
4. In the month of Zil Hijjah, on a Sunday, of the time, when thirteen (days) of the month had been in grief,*
5. In the year 753 A. H., travelled on that day to Paradise.
6. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him !

No. 36.

این مقطع بهار ملک سیف دولتست کز سهم تنغ او سر افکندی آفتان
بت را همی شکست چو همنام خویش تا در عالم بفناش بود بت شکن خطاب
صفدار صفت شکن چو صفت آراستی بحرب رستم بتاب فنادے و بهمن شدے زتاب
خرشید اگرچه لشکر سیارة را شکست آخرا ز کوه ساخت سراپردہ حجاب
ناریخ آفتان که یکشنبه از جهان چون لعل رفت در دل سنگ از برای خواب
بود از مه معظم ذی الحجه سیزده وزمال بعد هفتصد و پنجمه مهی رحساب

1. This Jágírdár of Bihár is the Malik, the sword of the dynasty, from the point of whose sword the sun turns his head.

* The poetry is bad enough, but metrical slips also occur. The metre is short *hazaj*; and the *t* in 'budast' has been elided.

2. Like his namesake (Abraham), he broke idols, so that in the future world the title of 'Iconoclast' might be given him.

3. (He is) the warrior who breaks the ranks (of the enemies); when he arranged his ranks, Rustam fell into feverish restlessness, and Bahman lost his firmness.

4. Although the sun defeats the army of the planets, he makes at last for himself a screen of the mountains.*

5. On the day of the sun it was, on a Sunday, when, like a ruby in a stone, he (Malík Bayyú) went away from the world, in order to sleep,

6. When thirteen days had passed away from the exalted month of Zil Hijjah, and 753 years of the era.

No. 37.

درین گنبد که هست از روی معنی بقادر از گنبد افلاک برتر
بخفتست شیر مردے کز نهیدش لخفته شیر اندر بطن شپر
مدار ملائک ابراهید-م بوبکر که تیغ از بهر حق میزد چو حیدر
چنین لشکر کشی کشور کشائی فخیزد دوم اندر هفت کشور
کلون چون بر درت افقاد یا رب زراه لطف بکشای برو در
بمشک رحمت و کافور رافت کنی دیوار خاکش را معطر

1. In this dome, which in a spiritual sense has a higher value than the dome of heaven,

2. Sleeps a lion, from whose dread (unintelligible),

3. The pivot of the realm, Ibráhím Abú Bakr, who wielded his sword for truth like Haidar ('Alí).

4. Such a warfare, such a conquest of realms, will not take place a second time in the seven realms.

5. O God, as he has now fallen down at Thy door, open in mercy Thy door to him!

6. Perfume the walls of his grave with the musk of Thy mercy and the camphor of Thy forgiveness !

No. 38. *The Firuz Sháh Inscription in the Chhoṭá Dargáh.* A. H. 761.

The Chhoṭá Dargáh of Bihár is the shrine of Badruddin Badr i 'Álam. This faqír came from Mírat'h, is said to have spent a long time at Chátgáon, and settled at last in Bihár, where he died in 814 A. H., or 1440 A. D., the táríkh of his death being ينور حق پیوست, 'he joined the glory of the Lord.' It is said that the famous Sharafuddín Munyari had invited him, but Badr delayed in Chátgáon, and only arrived in Bihár forty days after Sharafuddín's death.

The slab stands in the northern enclosure, and curious to say, has on the other side Inscription No. 6, given above. It thus contains the name

* The light of the sun is so strong that the planets are not visible; but even the sun sets and loses himself behind the mountains. So also Malík Bayyú.

of the Bengal Fírúz Sháh on one side and that of the Dihlí Fírúz Sháh on the other. We often find slabs with Hindú carvings on one side and Muhammadan inscriptions on the other; but I have not heard of a Muhammadan inscription having been treated so; for it is repugnant to the feelings of a Muslim to have God's name walled up. The slab is now considered an infallible cure for evil spirits of all sorts.

مسجد د گشت این میمون عـمـارت بعـهـد پـادـشاـه عـدـل پـرـور
شـهـنـشاـه جـهـان فـیـروـز شـاـه آـنـک اـزوـآـبـاد شـد مـحـراب و مـنـبر
بـسـعـی و التـمـاس بـنـدـغـه خـاص بـرـید خـطـه انـدر دـوـر دـاـور
مـلـك سـیـروـت مـلـك کـافـی کـفـایـت فـہـدـم نـامـور در هـفت کـشـور
گـذـشـتـه هـفـصـد اـز تـارـیـخ هـجـرـت فـزـودـه بـود یـک بـوـشـت دـیـگـر
هـمـیـشـه بـاد شـه بـر قـتـخت دـوـلـت چـوـنـام خـوـیـش فـیـروـز و مـظـفـر

1. This auspicious building was renewed in the reign of the justice-fostering king,
2. The lord of the world, Fírúz Sháh, through whom niches and pulpits [*i. e.*, mosques] flourished,
3. Through the exertion and at the request of the special slave, (who is) the Reporter (*bāzīt*) of the District, in the time of the just king,
4. An angelic man, a noble whose guarantee is sufficient, a wise man, renowned in the seven realms,
5. Seven Hundred years have passed away of the Era of the Hijrah, and sixty-one besides,
6. May the king on the throne of power remain for ever victorious and successful, as (indicated) by his name !

The following two inscriptions are of importance for the history of the Dihlí empire.

No. 39. *The Muhammad Sháh Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 792.

This inscription belongs to the ruined mosque in Kabír-uddínganj, the most northern Mahallah of the town of Bihár. The mosque has three cupolas, the centre one circular, the others octagonal. Two of its lofty minarets have fallen down.

Regarding the king, *vide* Mr. Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 306. The metre (long *ramal*) precludes the possibility of an error in the date.

شد بـعـهـد دـوـلـت شـاـه مـحـمـد نـامـدار الـيـنـجـنـيـون مـسـجـد مـرـوج فـضـل بـارـي کـوـنـگـار
ایـن بـداـرا کـرـدـچـون خـواـجـه ضـیـا اـبـن عـلـا بـد رـهـجـرـت هـفـتـصـدـه یـگـرـنـوـد دـوـر شـماـر

1. In the time of the *reign of Sháh Muhammad, the illustrious, this Masjid became generally used, (by) the grace of God, the Creator.
2. When Khwájah Ziyá, son of 'Alá, erected this edifice, it was 792 after the Hijrah. (A. D. 1390.)

N^o. 40. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Dihlí) Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 799.

This inscription belongs to the *Khánqáh*, or cell, of Ziyá ul Haq, governor of Bihár, who was mentioned in the preceding inscription. The slab was found in the cluster of religious buildings known in Bihár as the Chhotá Takyah, 'the small cloister,' in which there is the tomb of Sháh Díwán 'Abdul Wahháb, who is said to have died in 1096, A. H.

As the inscription mentions Mahmúd Sháh as the reigning king in 799, it follows that Nuçrat Sháh was not acknowledged as opposition king by Malik Sarwar of Jaunpúr, to whom Bihár then belonged. *Vide* 'Chronicles,' pp. 312 to 317.

کرد اندر عهد سلطان جهان مُحَمَّد شاه حاکم خطہ ضیاء الحق بنا این خانقاہ
هفتصد نہ با نو د از سال هجرت رفتہ بود شد تمام این خانقاہ باد اضعیفان را پناہ

1. During the reign of the king of the world, Mahmúd Sháh, Ziyá ul Haq, governor of the province, built this *Khánqáh*.

2. Seven hundred and ninety-nine years had passed since the Hijrah, when this asylum was completed. May it be the refuge of the weak! (A. D. 1397.)

Nos. 40 to 42. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Jaunpúr) Inscriptions of Bihár.*
(A. H., 847 and 859.)

From the preceding inscriptions we see that Bihár, in the 8th century of the Hijrah, belonged to the Dihlí empire. With the establishment, immediately afterwards, of the Jaunpúr kingdom, it was separated from Dihlí. Bihár with Qanauj, Audh, Karáh, Dalamaū, Sandelá, Bahrah, and Jaunpúr, had since 796 been in the hands of Malik Sarwar Khwájahsará, who had the title of 'Sultán ushsharq,' or 'king of the East.' He does not appear to have struck coins, and the fact that the preceding inscription does not mention his name, confirms the statement of the histories that he did not assume the ensigns of royalty. He was succeeded by his adopted son Malik Qaranfúl,* whose elder brother Ibráhím ascended the throne of Jaunpúr in 804, under the title of Sultán Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ibráhím Sháh. After a reign of forty years, he was succeeded by Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh (844 to 862), to whose reign the following three inscriptions belong.

The inscriptions do not mention Mahmúd's *kunyáh*; the coins (Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 322) do not even give his first name. But as Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh of Jaunpúr is the contemporary of, and has the same name

* This word is generally derived from the Greek *caryophyllum*, a clove; but the *Ghiyásullughát* derives it more correctly from the Hindí *karn*, 'ear,' and *phúl*, flower, because women and eunuchs often put a clove into the lobe of the ear. An ear-ornament, resembling the head of a clove, has also the same name. It is possible that Malik Qaranful, like Malik Sarwar, was a eunuch.

as Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh (I) of Bengal, care is to be taken not to confound the two.*

The first of the following three inscriptions belonged to a mosque which stood opposite to the Chhoṭá Takyah, on the opposite bank of the Adyánadí, in Bihár. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found.

The second and third inscriptions belonged to the ruinous Pahárpúr Jámí' Masjid.

No. 40.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَذَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ
بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ ॥

شَدَ بِقُوَّةِ إِلَهِيٍّ وَزَطْفِيلِ مَصْطَفِيٍّ مَسْجِدٌ جَمِيعَهُ بِعِمَدٍ شَاهِ دِينِ بِرْزُورِ بَنَا
شَاهِ مُحَمَّدٍ ابْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَادِلٍ شَاهِ آنَّكَ كَشُورًا زَشَاهَانَ سَتَانَهُ بَاجَ لِبَخْشَدِ بُرْگَدا
بَانِي اِبْنِ مَسْجِدٍ آنَّ مَسْدَدٍ شَرِيعَتَ هَسْتَ كُو ذَاتِ پَاكَشَ قَرَّةِ الْعَيْنِ نَبِيٍّ وَ مَوْنَضا
سَرُورُ وَ صَدَرْجَهَانَ آنَّ سَيِّدَاجْمَلَ تَكَهْشَدَ مَلِكٌ وَ مَلِكَتِ دِينِ وَ دُولَتِ رَا دَرَاوَ أَنْجَا
كَوْدَهَ فَرِصَائِشَ بَنَاءَ خَيْرِ مَلِكِ الشَّرْقِ كَآنَ مَقْطَعَ دَارِ دِينِ خَطَهَ نَصِيرَ اِبْنِ بَهَا
اِبْنِ بَنَا شَدَ اسْتَوَارَ اِزْ طَاقَ كَسْرَيِ درَبَهَارَ كَعْبَدَهُ دَرِ عَظِيْتَ بَرِ فَعَتَ بَيْتَ مَعْمُورَ عَلَى
غَرَّهَا رَجَبَ بَدَهَشَهَدَ وَچَلَهَفَتَ سَالَ کَانَدَرِينَ مَسْجِدَ اِقَامَتَ شَدَ بَنَأَيَدَهَدَخَدا

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement. He upon whom be peace (the Prophet) says—“ He who builds a mosque for God, for him will God build a house in Paradise.

1. By divine grace and for the sake of Muqtaṣá [the Prophet], the Jum'ah mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king

2. Sháh Mahmúd, son of Ibráhím the Just, a king who takes realms from kings, (and) gives beggars tribute.

3. The builder of this mosque is the great lawyer, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtázá ('Alí),

4. The chief and the centre of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and the royal house, take refuge,

5. (Who) ordered this building (to be erected), he the best in the Eastern (Jaunpúr) kingdom, the Jágírdár (*mujtibí*), the lord of this district, Náçír ibn i Bálá.

6. This building in Bihár is stronger than the portico of Kisrá; it is a Ka'bah in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity.†

7. It was on the 1st Rajab, of the year 847 A. H., [25th October, 1443, A. D.] when with the assistance of God the first prayer was read (*iqámat shud*) in this mosque.

* The Jaunpúr Mahmúd Sháhí coins generally have the word *sulṭáni*, and allude to the investiture by some Khalífah.

† The phrase 'ستوار اِزْ طَاقَ كَسْرَيِ' in line 6 is a Hindí construction for the Persian Comparative.

No. 41.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۖ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ
بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ *

بارک اللہ در زمان ناصر دنیا و دین	شاه محمود بن ابراهیم شاه راس تین
صفدر گیہان پناہ مملکت صدر کریم	یافنه توفیق خیر از فضل رب العالمین
مسجد جامع بننا کرد آنچنان کاند رجهان	طاق بنیاد آمدش با ماہ و عاہی همنشین
مندر و محراب از فرط علو مرتبہ	یافت آن رونق که تحسین میکند روح الامین
و بن ندا از عالم بالا همی آید فرود	هذا جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدین
چارشنبه بیست هفتم مه ز ایام صیام	هشصدمولپچاہ و نه بود سوت قاریخ از سنین ۸۵۹
در رقام خیر او احمد همی خواهد بجهان	روح پاک شیخ شرف الحق والدین رامعین

In the name of God, &c., (as above).

1. Blessed be God, in the time of Náqiruddunyá waddín Sháh Mahmúd, son of the righteous Sháh Ibráhím [of Jaunpúr],
2. The hero of the world, the refuge of the kingdom, the noble chief, who through the mercy of the Lord of the Universe has found grace to do good,
3. Built this Jámí' Masjid in such a way, that on earth the arch of its structure dwells together with the moon and the fish.*
4. Its pulpit and niche, from the excess of (their) dignity, have received such a lustre that even the Rúh ul Amán (the warden of Paradise) has approved (of them).
5. And from the upper world, the call comes continually down (to earth), 'This is the garden of Eden, enter it (and live in it) for ever.'
6. Wednesday, the 27th of the month of fasting (Ramazán) of the year 859 is the date of its erection (14th September, 1455, A. D.).
7. Ahmad (the Prophet) sincerely (*ba-jdn*) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shaikh Sharaf ul-haq waddín.†

No. 42.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۖ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ
بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ ||

مسجد جامع توفیق خداونه الا و ز طفیل مصطغاء صاحب تمکین و جاہ
شد بعهد دولت شاهی کھنیت عدل او مغرب و مشرق گرفت از پشت ماہی تابیاہ
آنکه پور شاه ابراهیم عادل سرفراز آفتاب سلطنت شاه جهان محمود شاه

* I. e., the building is so high, that it touches the moon, and its foundation is so deep, that it touches the fish, upon which the earth is supposed to rest.

† The metre is as bad as the poetry. To get out the metre, we have to read *sharif* or *sharaf*—which is Hindústání, and have to scan *haqqa waddín*.

نَزَهَتْ بَيْتُ الْمَقْدِسِ حَرَمَتْ بَيْتُ الْحَرَامِ
بَنْدَوْفَضْلُ اللَّهُبَشْتَهُ بَيْسَتْ هَفْتَمْ زَصِيَّاْمْ هَشْصَدْ وَبَنْجَاهُ وَنَهْ تَارِيْخَ بَوْدْ وَسَالْ وَمَاءْ

In the name of God, &c.

1. The Jámi' Masjid, by the grace of God the Lord, and for the sake of Muqtáṣá, the Lord of power and dignity,
2. Was(erected) during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice surrounds the west and the east, (extending) from the back of the fish to the moon.
3. Namely, the son of Sháh Ibráhím the Just, the exalted, the sun of Royalty, the king of the world, M a h m ú d S h á h (two distichs illegible).
6. The glory of the holy temple (in Jerusalem), the honor of the Haram (the temple in Makkah)
7. The slave Fazlullah wrote this on the 27th day of the Fast, A. H. 859 (10th September, 1455, A. D.)

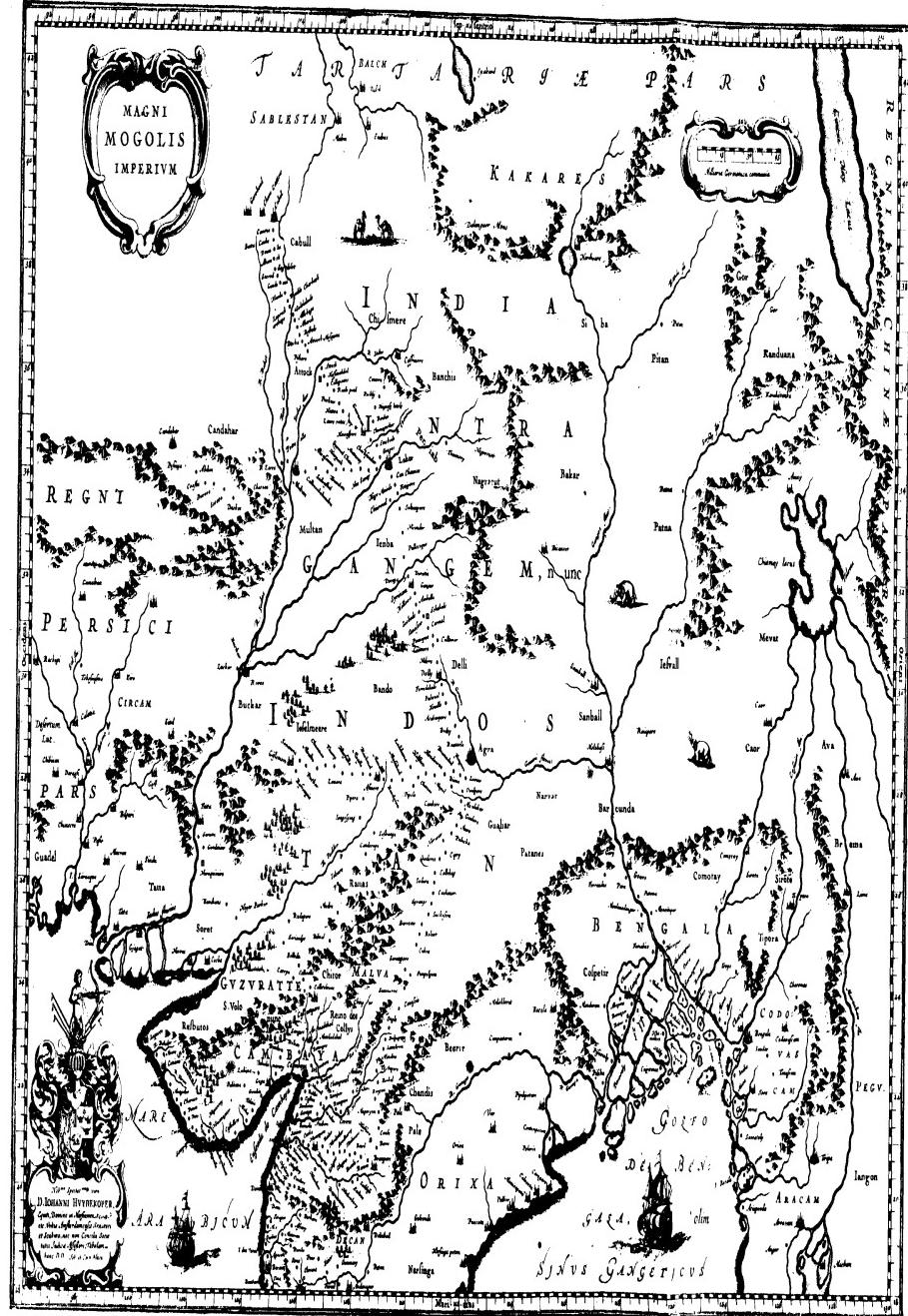
I now bring this essay to a close. It has extended over more pages than I originally had intended. I hope in a short time to put together the collection of inscriptions belonging to the Pathán and Mughul periods, received by the Society from General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise, to whose unwearied exertions Bengal History owes so much. In the meantime it would be well if other members also, and all such as take an interest in the subject, would send rubbings and coins to the Society ; for in the absence of written histories it is only from mural and medallic remains that we can expect to gain a correct knowledge of the history of Bengal.

Table of the Independent Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, from A. H. 739 to 944, or A. D. 1338 to 1538.

	Statements of the Histories.	Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign.	REMARKS.
		Duration of reign.	Dates.		
1	Fakhriddín Abul Muzaaffar Mubárak Sháh,.....	2 years and some months.	739 to 741	739, 741 to 750, none.	739 to 750 Eastern Bengal.
2	Ikhtiyárdín Abul Muzaaffar Ghází Sháh, (son)	not mentioned.	.....	753. 742, 744 to 746, none.	751 to 753 Do, 740 to 746 Western Bengal.
3	'Aíándín Abul Muzaaffar 'Alí Sháh,.....	1 y. and 5 m.	.....	.....	.....
4	<i>A. The House of Iyás Sháh.</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
4	Shamsiddín Abul Muzaaffar Iyás Sháh,	16 y. and some m.	.....	Western Bengal, 740, 744, 746 to 758; Eastern Bengal, 753 to 758.	740 to 759
5	Abul Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh, (son) ...	9 y. and some m.	.....	As prince, 750 to Rajab, 770. 754; 759 to 761; 763 to 765; 770 to 773; 776; 779 to 783, 784 to 792.	759 to 792
6	Ghírándín Abul Muzaaffar A'zam Sháh, (son)	7 y. and some m., or 16 y. 5 m. 3 d.	to 775	772; 775; 776; 790 to 799.	792 to 799
7	Safíndín Abul Mujáhid Hamzah Sháh, (son),	10 y., or 7 y., or 3 y. 7 m. 5 d.	to 785	804.	none.
8	Shamsiddín, (?), (son ?), (son ?)	3 y. and some m., or 3 y. 4 m. 6 d.	to 788	.....	804 to 808

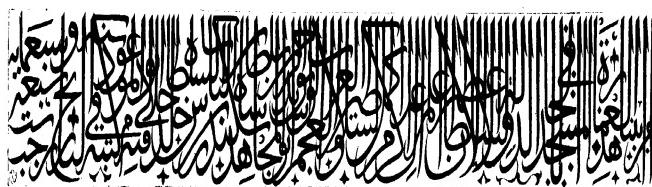
<i>B. The House of Rájah Káns.</i>					
9	Rájah Káns, Shihábdín Abul Muzaaffar Bázafzí Sháh, Jáláldín Abul Muzaaffar Muhammád Sháh, (son)	7 years. not mentioned. 17 years.	none. 812, 816	none. none.	{ 808 to 817
	Shamsuddíń Abul Mujáhid Ahmad Sháh, (son)	16 or 18 years.	to 812 to 830	818, 821, 831 836	817 to 834 [or to 846?]
<i>C. The House of Ilyás Sháh restored.</i>					
10	Náqiruddín Abul' Muzaaffar Malmíd Sháh (1),	32 or 27 years.	to 862	816	861; Sháhán, 863; 28 Zil Hijjah 863.
11	Ruknuddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbaik Sháh, (son)	17 or 16 years.	to 879	873	860 (as prince); Safar, 865.
12	Shamsuddíń Abul Muzaaffar Yúsuf Sháh, (son)	7 y. 6 m.	to 887	883, 884	879 to 886
13	Sikandar Sháh (II), (son ?)	2½ days, or ½ day.	none.	none.	886
14	Jáláldín Abul Muzaaffar Fath Sháh, (son of No. 12)	7 y. 5 m.	887 to 896	886	886 887, 888, 889 beginning of 892

	Statements of the Histories.		Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign.	REMARKS.
	Duration of reign.	Dates.	by Coins.	by Inscriptions.		
<i>D. The Habsch Kings.</i>						
17	Sultán Sháhzádah Bárbaik, the Eunuch,	8 or 6 or 2½ m.	none.	none.	893	
18	Safíndín Abúl Muzaaffar Fíruz Sháh (II),	3 years.	to 899	893	893 to 895	
19	Nácirudín Abúl Muájáhid Mahmúd Sháh (II), (son of No. 16?)	1 year.	none.	illegal.	23rd Rab' ... (?)	896
20	Shamsuddín Abúl-Naqr Muzaaffar Sháh,	3 y. 5 m.	to 903	896	896 to 899	
<i>E. The House of Husain Sháh.</i>						
21	'Alándín Abúl Muzaaffar Husain Sháh,	27 y., or 29 y., or 29 y. 5 m.	to 927* (929?)	899, 900, 912, 914	903, 907, 908, 909 911, 915, 916, 918, 919, 922, 925.	899 to 927 (929?) * mentioned in Badaoni as reigning in 901.
22	Nácirudín Abúl Muzaaffar Náqrat Sháh, (son)	13 y., or less, or 16 y.	to 939	922, 924, 927	929, 930, 933, 936, 937.	927 (929?) to 939
23	'Alándín Abúl Muzaaffar Fíruz Sháh (III), (son)	3 months	none.	939	939	939
24	Ghírándín Abúl Muzaaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III), (son of No. 21)—defeated by Sher Sháh,.....	.....	.....	943	-	940 to 944
				to 944, dies 945		

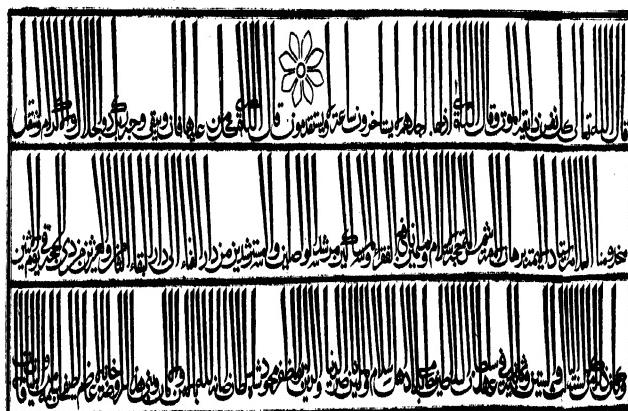




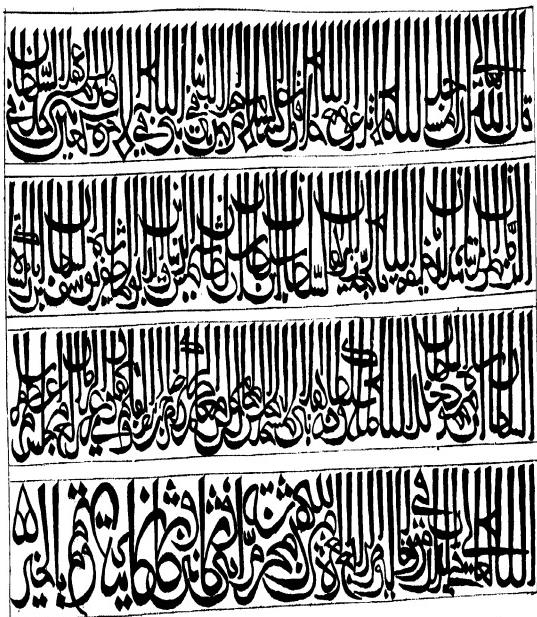
No. 1 & 2. The Kai Kausi Inscription of Kagr, A. H. 87.



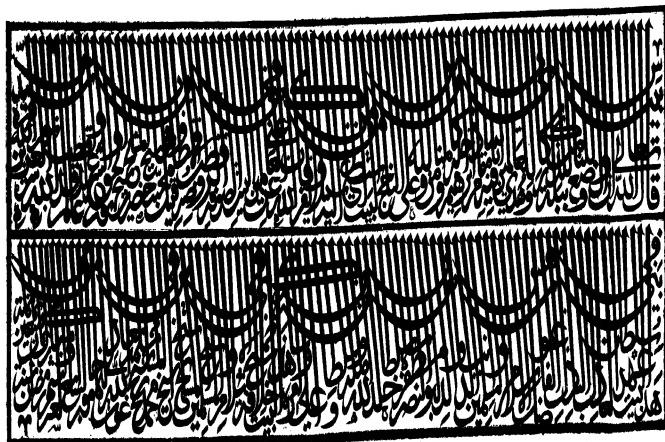
No. 3. The Sikandar Shah Inscription of Hazrat Pandah, A. H. 70.



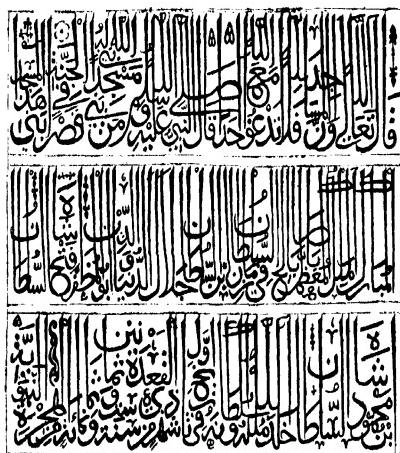
No. 4. The Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (I) Inscription of Gaur, A. H. 853.



No. 1. The Yusuf Shah Inscription, of Pandua (Hugli District), A. H. 853.



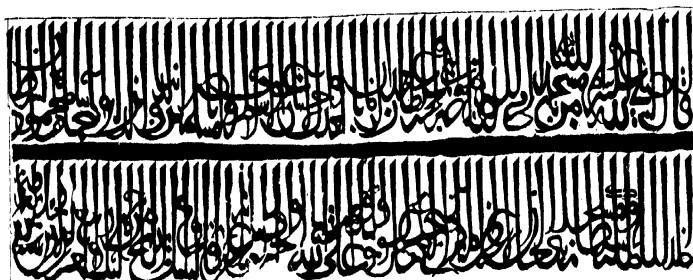
No. 2. The Muzaffar Shah Inscription, of Harat Pandua, A. H. 858.



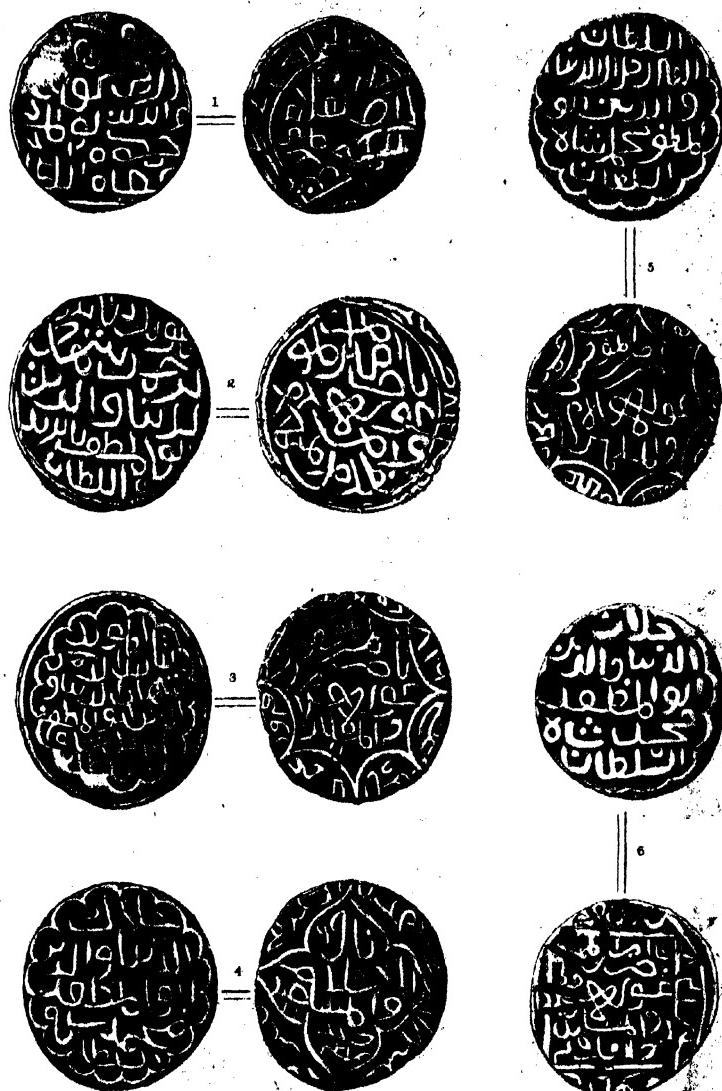
No. 1. The Fath Shah Inscription of Phaka, A. H. 881.

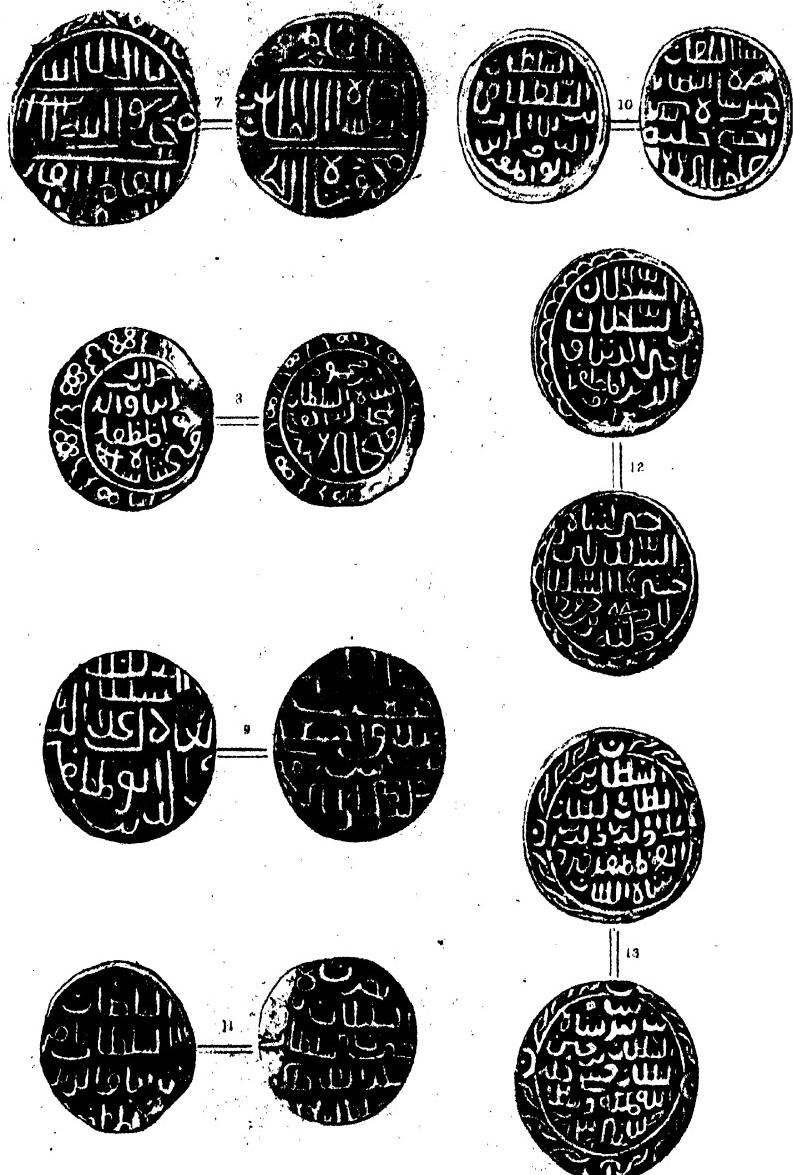


No. 2. The Firuz Shah (III.) Inscription of Kalnab, A. H. 899.



No. 3. The Naqiruddin Mahmud Shah (II.) Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.





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